Malady of Meditation:
A Prolegomenon to the Study of Illness and Zen

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation explores the relation between illness and Zen by focusing on the topic of the malady of meditation (*zenbyō*). Reconstruction of this relation will proceed in rough chronological order. Chapter One of this dissertation, for instance, shows how the oft-used metaphors of medicine and illness in early Buddhist scriptures were turned on their heads for the purpose of addressing a problem inherent to the notion of the emptiness of emptiness. Chapter Two offers a close examination of key metaphors for emptiness and no mind—the great death, rest, relaxation, cold ashes, withered trees, and silent illumination—and shows that these metaphors had come to be met with suspicion sometime between the late Tang (755-907) and early Song (960-1127). This shift in understanding was, I argue, accompanied by the emergence of a new Buddhist genre known as the encounter dialogue and the appearance of a more general, hermeneutic predicament that early Song exegetes took to be the defining characteristic of the encounter dialogue genre as a whole. These same exegetes argued that one could overcome this predicament by taking the words and deeds that the ancient masters used to distance themselves from, say, the great death and make them one's own.

Chapter Three turns to the Chan master Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163), his autobiography, and the remedy that he recommended to those suffering from the malady of meditation, namely "observing the phrase meditation" (*kanhua chan*). Challenging the prevailing scholarly consensus, this dissertation will attempt to show that Dahui's condemnation of silent illumination and his advocacy of observing the most critical

phrase (*huatou*) from each encounter dialogue have less to do with internecine polemics and struggle for support than with the question of what it means to personally witness (*qinzheng*) the ineffable Way and know it for oneself (*zizhi*).

Chapter Four turns to the Japanese Zen master Hakuin Ekaku (1686-1769) and his illness. Hakuin's profound interest in the physical aspect of the malady of meditation, I argue, is in part an extension of the growing emphasis on the body that one can witness in the Buddhist revitalization efforts during the late Ming dynasty (1570-1644). Chapter Five also explores the relation between Hakuin's account of his illness, the art of nourishing life (*yōjō*), and the anxiety of stagnation that swept through the Edo populace. Although the accumulation of vital energy (*ki*) had reigned as the ideal of nourishing life for centuries, labor and hard work emerged in its stead as the new ideal of nourishing life. Chapter Five, however, will show that Hakuin's illness has as much to do with anxieties about labor (*rō*) and exhaustion (*rō*) as with anxieties about stagnation.

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Conventions of Usage

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2. References to the *Dai Nippon Zokuzokyō* 大日本續藏經, edited by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 (Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905-1912), will be based on the more accessible Taiwanese reprint, *Xuzang jing* 續藏經 (Taibei: Shinwenfeng, 1968-1970). Texts from the *Dai Nippon Zokuzokyō* will be cited according to the following format: ZZ followed by volume number, page number, register (a or b), and line number(s). The canon itself will be referred to as the *Zokuzokyō* for short.

3. References to the *Zhonghua dazang jing* (*Hanwen bufen*) 中華大藏經 (漢文部分), edited by the Zhonghua dazang jing bianjiju (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984) will be cited according to the following format: ZHD followed by volume number, text number, page, and register (a, b, or c). The canon itself will be referred to as the Zhonghua canon for short.

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12. References to the *Kinsei kanpō igakusho shūsei* 近世漢方医学書集成, edited by Ōtsuka Keisetsu 大塚敬節 and Yakazu Dōmei 矢数道明 (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1979-1984) will be cited according to the following format: KKIS followed by volume number and page number.

13. Since the term "koan" appears in the Oxford English Dictionary as a permanent part of the English lexicon, italics and diacritics have been omitted. The same rule shall be applied to other terms such as nirvana.

14. Pinyin is the romanization system used throughout for Chinese terms. All citations and references using Wade-Giles have been changed accordingly.

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Introduction

In a compendium of letters known as the *Oradegama* 遠羅天釜,[1] Zen master Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1686-1769) warns us of an illness that befalls those who devote themselves to the practice of "silent illumination zen" (J. *mokushō zen* 默照禪). This cautionary note against what he calls the "malady of meditation" (J. *zenbyō* 禪病) also appears in a number of his other writings, among which the *Yasenkanna* 夜船閑話 is the most popular.[2] According to these sources, the malady of meditation consists of a "fire" mounting in the upper body followed by parched lungs, cold feet, fear, depression, ringing in the ears, constant perspiration and hallucinations. As if to demonstrate the seriousness of the matter, Hakuin himself confesses to having once succumbed to this pernicious illness by "seeking out some dark and gloomy place" and engaging in what he

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[1] Hakuin's work is now readily accessible in various collections, the most important of which is undoubtedly the *Hakuin oshō zenshū* 白隠和尚全集 published between 1934 and 1934 under the editorship of Gotō Kōson 後藤光村. Before this collection was completed, a collection of Hakuin's writings had been prepared by Ōhashi Shungai 大橋俊崖 and Uemura Gishu 上村義秀 and published as the *Hakuin kōroku* 白隠広録 in 1905. More recently the vernacular sermons and writings by Hakuin have been edited together with meticulous footnotes and photocopy reproductions of the earliest extant manuscripts by Yoshizawa Katsuhiro. Yoshizawa's collection was published between 1999 and 2002 in thirteen volumes.

Throughout this study I will rely on the edition of the *Oradegama* edited by Yoshizawa (2001a). See also HOZ 5: 107-246. For an English translation of this work, see Yampolsky 1971. The *Oradegama* is comprised of three letters written by Hakuin and was first published in 1749. Although an alternative pronunciation of the title, *Orategama*, has been in use for some time now, I follow the advice of Yoshizawa and use *Oradegama* for the title of this work. *Oradegama* appears to have been the name of Hakuin's favorite tea kettle; Yoshizawa 2001a: 546. The term *Orade*, as Yoshizawa points out, seems to mean "un-foldable" (*orazaru* 折らざる) or "un-weavable" (*orazaru* 織らざる) and functions as an allusion to an old song about Sugawara Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) as Kitano Tenjin 北野天神; see Yoshizawa 2001a: 543-552. The song is reproduced on a famous painting of Kitano Tenjin by Hakuin; see Tanahashi 1984: 68.

[2] Throughout this study I will rely on the edition of the *Yasenkanna* edited by Yoshizawa (2002a). See also HOZ 5: 341-366. For an English translation, see Shaw and Schiffer 1956 and Waddell 2002. Some suggest that the title *Yasenkanna* or "Idle talk on a night boat" alludes to the famous idiom, "night boat of Shirakawa (*Shirakawa yobune* 白川夜船), which refers to the pretense of knowing something that actually doesn't exist; see Izuyama 1983: 114; Mohr 1999: 311; Mohr 2000: 258; and Waddell 1999: 152-154.

calls "dead sitting" (J. *shiza* 死坐), a satirical allusion to silent illumination zen.

The goal of this dissertation is to shed some light on the relatively neglected topic of the relation between illness and Zen and to try, for instance, and address the following question: How should we make sense of Hakuin's illness? A seemingly obvious answer would be to focus on the diagnosis of his symptoms and, as a handful of scholars have already done, approach his illness either as tuberculosis, pleurisy, neurosis, or nervous breakdown.[3] In speaking of Hakuin's illness, Heinrich Dumoulin, for instance, claims that it was "caused by tuberculosis of the lungs combined with a nervous ailment."[4] Similarly, Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki suggest a nervous breakdown provoked by "too intense and continued meditation practice" as a possible reading of his various symptoms.[5] Rikugawa Taiun, on the other hand, argues that Hakuin's illness had to be a form of neurosis, a *mental* disorder, on the grounds that Hakuin could not have conducted his pilgrimages had he been suffering from a *physical* ailment such as lung disease.[6] But here we must proceed with caution. Although it is tempting to translate Hakuin's illness into a language more amenable to medical analysis, in so doing we invariably ignore those aspects of his illness that are incommensurate with our modern sensibilities. Simply put,

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[3] In an important collection of articles on Zen in Japan, Ōmori Sōgen refers to Hakuin's illness as neurosis and tuberculosis; Ōmori 1968: 239. Arai Arao, a famous advocate of a therapeutic exercise known as *gyōga zen* 仰臥禅, makes the same diagnosis; Arai 2002: 23. Arai himself states that he had suffered from neurosis and a stomach illness (*ibyō* 胃病) when young and had successfully cured his illness with the help of Hakuin's *Yasenkanna*; Arai 2002: 18. See also Arai 1964 and 1992. Similarly, Naoki Kimihiko, who also claims to have successfully cured his tuberculosis with the *Yasenkanna*, refers to Hakuin's illness as the combination of nervous breakdown and tuberculosis; Naoki 2003: 25. Naoki's work (first print in 1955) is currently in its 46th printing. More recently, Muraki Hiromasa, who holds a medical degree from Keiō University and Tokyo University, diagnoses Hakuin's illness as insomnia, neurosis, and tuberculosis; Muraki 2005: 15 (this is a reprint of Muraki 1985). I was unable to consult Aoki Shigeru's work where he also argues that Hakuin's illness was tuberculosis; see Aoki 1943.

[4] See Dumoulin 1990: 376. R. D. M. Shaw and Wilhelm Schiffer also read Hakuin's illness as a nervous breakdown; Shaw and Schiffer 1956: 105.

[5] Miura and Sasaki 1966: 24, 215-216.

[6] See Rikugawa 1963: 203 and 353. Cf. Rikugawa 1962: 35. Kamata Shigeo, like Rikugawa, calls Hakuin's illness a form of neurosis, consisting of perverse psychosomatic phenomena; Kamata 2001: 117. See also Kamata 1986: 228-230.

the greatest flaw in the above diagnoses is their failure to explain what is most in need of explication, namely the conspicuous relation between Hakuin's illness and the practice of silent illumination zen.

Admittedly, illness is not what first comes to mind when we think of Zen, and this seems to have been equally true in Hakuin's own day. Much to Hakuin's dismay, many of his fellow Zen practitioners were unaware that their attempts to discover the inherently luminous mind in silence and quietude (i.e., silent illumination) would precipitate an illness such as the malady of meditation. Few, in fact, had ever heard of such an illness and fewer still knew how to cure it. Uncertain at first as to what to do, Hakuin himself admits to have taken the most obvious course of action. We are told he sought the help of noted physicians, but to no avail. According to his *Yasenkanna*, it was only with the intervention of an old hermit named Hakuyū 白幽 that Hakuin was finally able to procure a credible diagnosis and effective remedy for his morbid condition.[7] It was, in fact, this old hermit who revealed to Hakuin that the latter's illness was not so much a medical problem as a contemplative one. As the hermit explains, the malady of meditation cannot be treated with acupuncture, moxibustion, or medicine even if they were to be applied by the most skilled of physicians. Instead, the hermit insists, since the malady arose from contemplation (*kanri* 觀理) it must be cured with contemplation or, more specifically, "inner contemplation" (*naikan* 内觀), which, he hastens to add, "is actually Zen."[8]

Indeed, the malady of meditation seems to differ in a fundamental way from the everyday ailment, the medical treatment of which is primarily concerned with quickly restoring the patient back to her normal state of physical health. On the contrary, as long

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[7] Hakuyū's historicity has been hotly debated. Several decades ago, however, the Japanese scholar Itō Kazuo argued that Hakuin did in fact have a contemporary who used the sobriquet Hakuyū; Itō 1956: 40. According to Itō, his real name was Ishikawa Jishun 石川慈俊 (1645-1709) and he is known to have been the disciple of Ishikawa Jōzan 石川丈山 (1583-1672), a renowned samurai and Edo period scholar (1600-1868). In a number of his works Hakuin claims to have met Hakuyū sometime after his leave from Shōjuan 正受庵 in 1709. This seems highly unlikely given Hakuyū's dates. For a more extensive account of Ishikawa Jishun's life, see Itō 1973. See also Rikugawa 1962: 140-203; Mohr 1999: 310-311; and Mohr 2000: 258.

[8] 是禅也 (Yoshizawa 2000: 131); cf. Waddell 2002: 109.

as one failed to see into one's own nature and experience a true moment of awakening, physical well-being by itself offered no solace to those who suffered from the malady of meditation. For, to suffer from this malady was not to simply undergo mental and physical anguish but to confuse deluded discrimination for the Way of Zen. Put in other terms, the malady results from mistaking the consciousness produced in quietude and inactivity for one's own true nature.[9] The malady of meditation was thus less a malady of mind and body than that of poor soteriological judgment. As the hermit Hakuyū suggests, the most sensible frame for the malady of meditation would therefore be Zen, not medicine.

Some will, no doubt, find this suggestion objectionable. One could, in fact, point to Hakuin's own passing reference to the malady of meditation as *rōgai* 勞咳 and *denshibyō* 傳屍病—old terms that are often used today as synonyms of *kekkaku* 結核, the Japanese word for consumption, phthisis, or tuberculosis—and claim that Hakuin had become ill because he was exposed to a relatively mild strand of tubercle bacillus (*Mycobacterium tuberculosis*) whose treatment surely must be medicine, not Zen.[10] There is, to be sure, some truth to this claim, but I would like to suggest that we should, all the same, avoid the modern tendency to see religion as a cultural and hence secondary response to what is in fact a social, psychological, and/or biological fact. The malady of meditation, in other words, cannot be seen as *anything but* a problem of Zen. I am not denying that *rōgai* and *denshibyō* refer to tuberculosis. They probably do. But what I am suggesting here is that, in the early half of the Edo period, "tuberculosis" was not what it is today. I am not speaking of a different species of the genus *Mycobacteria*. Variation over time is not in question. What I am questioning is the validity of reducing *rōgai* and *denshibyō* to an airborne pathogen.

When we examine "tuberculosis" in context, the shortcomings of this reductive reading become clear. In his influential medical treatise *Keitekishū* 啓迪集 (Collection of

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[9] See Yoshizawa 2001a: 215 and 279; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 40 and 63.

[10] For Hakuin's reference to *rōgai*, see his *Oniazami* 於仁安佐美 (Wild Thistles); Yoshizawa 1999b: 167. A copy of the *Oniazami* written in Hakuin's own hand is currently housed at Eisei bunko 永青文庫 in Tokyo, Japan. For *denshibyō*, see Yoshizawa 2001a: 279.

Inspirational [Writings]) published in 1574, the renowned Japanese scholar physician Manase Dōsan 曲直瀬道三 (1507-1594) refers to an illness known as *rōsai* 労瘵 (alt. 癆瘵), which seems to have been used interchangeably with *rōgai*, *rōsō* 労嗽, *rō* 労, and *denshi(byō)*.[11] Dōsan offers this simple definition of *rōsai*: "if essence is used up and blood dries up then *rō* appears."[12] To this he adds, "*rō* is acquired by harming the mind/heart and the kidneys."[13] How do these two statements relate? The mind/heart, he explains, governs blood and the kidneys govern essence. To harm the mind/heart, in other words, was to make the blood dry up and to harm the kidneys was to use up one's essence (i.e., semen). Such harm occurs, Dōsan claims, because the fire of the seven emotions and six desires stir as a consequence of which the fire of *yin* 陰 will ascend into the upper body and scorch and dry up the true water in the kidneys.[14] Overdrinking, overeating, and excessive indulgence in sex—the stirring of emotions and desires par excellence—are, therefore, cited as the most likely forms of pathological behavior that lead to *rōsai*.[15] As a remedy, Dōsan thus recommends keeping the mind and spirit peaceful and quiet at all times.

The physician Ashikawa Keishū 蘆川桂洲 (d.u.) cites the *Keitekishū*'s definition of *rōsai* in his dictionary of medical terminology, *Byōmei ikai* 病名彙解 (Explanation of the Names and Terminology of Illness) published in 1686. According to Ashikawa, "when the

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[11] See Tatsukawa 1998: 201. Dōsan's discussion of *rōsai* is also mentioned in Johnston 1996: 43-44.

[12] 精竭血燥労生 (KKIS 2: 516).

[13] 労傷心腎而得之 (KKIS 2: 516).

[14] KKIS 2: 519.

[15] Dōsan was a cautious scholar. In his *Keitekishū*, as he did for every other illness, he attempted to record as much authoritative information on *rōsai* as possible. In addition to the above factors he, for instance, mentions as the cause of *rōsai* the weakening of vital energy and the body and the consequent harm that is brought to the mind-and-heart and the kidneys; the harm that external cold brings to the lungs and the coughing that ensues; the inability to recover fully from a great illness; and contagion (*densen* 伝染); KKIS 2: 516. In fact, the term *denshi* (transmission from the corpse), according to Dōsan, refers to the ease with which *rōsai* could be transmitted via contagion to those who are attending the ill; KKIS 2: 520. Clothing and utensils are mentioned as possible mediums for the illness. On the other hand, he also claims that this illness is difficult to cure with medicine, but that one could hope for a miracle by correcting the mind and will and supporting this effort with medicine; KKIS 2: 518.

seven emotions and the six desires stir within [the body] and eating, drinking, and exhaustion (*rōken* 勞倦) become excessive the body will often be injured, the true water will dry up, and the fire of *yin* will ascend and scorch [the upper body]."[16] Citing various medical texts from Ming China, Ashikawa also informs us that males around the age of twenty become excessive in their engagement in sexual activity, injure their essence and blood, and thus inevitably give rise to an illness described as "the depletion of *yin* and the movement of fire."[17] As for its symptoms, those who suffer from this illness exhibit heavy perspiration, production of heat, loss of appetite, emaciation, and bouts of coughing (*gaisō* 咳嗽) that usually consist of phlegm, pus, or clumps of blood. Writing more than a century later, the physician Hara Nanyō 原南陽 (1752-1820) does not stray too far from these earlier definitions of *rōsai* in his *Sōkeitei iji shōgen* 叢桂亭医事小言 (Sōkeitei's Small Advice on Matters of Medicine) published in 1816: "*rōsai* is an illness caused by the exhaustion/labor of mind (*shinrō* 心勞) and the exhaustion/labor in the bedroom (*bōrō* 房勞)."[18] We need not, however, limit our investigation of *rōsai* to the writings of physicians. The popular publication *Keichō kenbunshū* 慶長見聞集 (Things Seen and Heard during the Keichō [period]) of 1614, for instance, had the following to say about *rōsai*: "I heard of the cause of this illness. It does not come from wind attack and cold chills. It is an illness that arises from the mind. For this reason, this illness is called a mind disturbance (*shinki* 心氣). It is an illness that pains the mind. . . . . This illness is difficult to cure with medicine."[19]

In short, the key to understanding *rōsai*, *rōgai*, and *denshibyō*, and thus the malady of meditation, is *kokoro* 心, the mind-and-heart, and not just tubercles, contagion,

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[16] KKIS 64: 325.

[17] 陰虛火動 (KKIS 64: 325).

[18] Cited in Tatsukawa 1998: 206.

[19] Cited in Tatsukawa 1998: 206. For the *Keichō kenbunshū*, see *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* vol. 8 (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1968-1984): 471-640. Tatsukawa Ryōji takes this passage from the *Keichō kenbunshū* to mean that tuberculosis and neurosis (his own word) were easily confused or that they often occurred together during the Edo.

and medicine. It must also be borne in mind that when Hakuin spoke of the malady of meditation he was not referring to just any *kokoro* but to the *kokoro* in meditation. He believed that the malady of meditation was the product of having one's *kokoro* mistakenly focused on, and thus attached to, quietude. This was not a novel claim. Hakuin was in large part repeating a well-established argument that had been made earlier by the Song dynasty Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163). According to Dahui, many students of the Way (*dao* 道) foolishly believed that they could attain a state of rest and relaxation and quite literally have "no mind" (*wuxin* 無心) by shunning the objects of the senses and maintaining a state of absolute tranquility. In the absence of mind, these students also believed that they would encounter the radiance of inherent buddhahood. Dahui was skeptical. In his sermons and letters, Dahui repeatedly urged his students to refrain from seeking such "special states" (*jite zhi xiang* 奇特之想) outside the hustle and bustle of everyday life. Instead, according to Dahui, one should realize that "the very place where one cannot escape [from the turmoil of everyday life] *is* meditative-work."[20] To see otherwise and become attached to quietude, as Dahui reminds his students, was nothing but a grave illness, an illness he calls the malady of meditation.

The conspicuous use of the language of illness found in Dahui and Hakuin's writings is certainly nothing new to the Buddhist tradition. Buddhist texts often depict the attachment to the objects of the senses as a form of illness and the Buddha's teachings as the cure.[21] Dahui and Hakuin's use of the language of illness, however, does differ from the more "traditional" Buddhist usage in one important respect. For them, it seems, the Buddha's teaching *itself* becomes an illness if understood improperly. The following comment made by Dahui captures this sentiment well: "The Buddha cured this [i.e., illness of attachment] with the medicine of tranquility-*pāramitā*. The illness is gone but

[20] 只遮鞸避不得處便是工夫了也 (T47.1998.923c6-7; emphasis mine).

[21] See, for instance, Demiéville 1985: 9-18, 83-87. The notion of *pratipakṣa* or *duizhi* 對治, sometimes rendered into English as "counteractive measures" or "antidote," is a good example of a more "traditional" use of the language of illness in Buddhism.

the medicine stayed, and this illness is even worse."[22] Similar claims can, in fact, be found in earlier Buddhist texts such as the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (Kāśyapa chapter) of the *Māhāratnakūṭa* (Great Pile of Jewels), the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (The Teachings of Vimalakīrti), and Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakaśāstra* (Treatise on the Middle).

The overall aim of this dissertation is twofold. On the one hand, I hope to show that the aforementioned sources do indeed share a common soteriological concern: to put it crudely, how is one to avoid becoming attached to the view (*dṛṣṭi*) of the absence of views (e.g. emptiness, purity, no mind, quietude etc.)? On the other hand, I also hope to show that a subtle yet critical shift or inflection had occurred in the way Buddhist thinkers responded to this concern. To anticipate my argument, for as long as we have had Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom) texts and other related literature Buddhist thinkers seem to have continuously produced increasingly sophisticated rhetorical strategies and practical techniques for rendering the view of the absence of views suspect, but after the rise of a new Buddhist genre known as the encounter dialogue we begin to see *heightened* suspicions that an adept can skillfully (re)produce such strategies and techniques without ever having personally understood them (and thereby prolonging the attachment to the view of the absence of views). What we also begin to see is a growing awareness of the need to supplement the mastery of these techniques, which many began to refer to as the "great death" (*dasi* 大死), with proof (*zheng* 證) of one's ability to make these techniques his or her own. Only with this proof and sense of certainty, some exegetes claimed, could the adept claim to have "returned to life" (*su* 甦) and to have thus had a genuine awakening. But these same exegetes also paradoxically maintained that this proof/experience (*zheng*) could not be sought in the learned words of Chan masters like themselves, that is, in their exegetical work. Instead, individuals, as we shall see, were urged to know the Way for themselves "like a person who drinks water and knows whether it is cool or warm for himself" (*ru ren yinshui lengnuan zizhi* 如人飲水冷煖自知). Failure to do so, we are told, would give rise to the malady of meditation.

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[22] 佛以寂静波羅蜜治之、病去薬存、其病愈甚 (T47.1998.926b22-24).

The gradual forging of this relation between the call to know the Way for oneself and the malady of meditation is not, however, the end of our story. The malady of meditation continued to resurface in spite of these efforts to find an effective cure, and this dissertation will attempt to explain why. The wager of this dissertation is that the malady of meditation may, in fact, be a *constitutive* factor in the development of a religious exercise whose aim is to confront, accept, and embody, rather than to continue to disavow (say, by hastily imitating the aforementioned strategies and techniques), a traumatic excess inherent to the practice of negating all views (including, of course, the view of the absence of views). This exercise unfolded in many ways. While some, as I hope to show, attempted to achieve this goal by studying the legends and sayings of the ancients others resorted to disciplining the body, reflecting on their own experiences, and knowing the Way for oneself. Salvation, according to these exercises, lies not at the *end* of negating views, dualisms, and attachments but in the here and now and in the hustle and bustle of everyday life. Again, as Dahui claims, the work of salvation takes place in that very place from which there is no escape.

These and other arguments will be presented according to the following outline. Chapter One of this dissertation shows how the oft-used metaphors of medicine and illness were turned on their heads for the purpose of addressing a problem (and, as it turns out, a solution) inherent to the notion of emptiness: if all views are empty, then emptiness itself must be empty. But to claim that emptiness is itself empty is a problem, I argue, because it surreptitiously establishes an irreproachable exception by ironically declaring that there can be none (or, as Slavoj Žižek puts it, emptiness "includes itself out"). What I do *not* intend to do in this dissertation is to arrive at some sort of solution to this seeming conundrum, a conundrum that Vimalakīrti dubbed the "malady of emptiness." Rather, the purpose of this dissertation, as I stated earlier, is to examine the recurrence of this malady *in situ* and to try to arrive at a satisfactory understanding as to why this recurrence took place. Our journey thus begins with the malady of emptiness and the various attempts that have been made to distance oneself from this malady by placing the blame for its dissemination on a scapegoat (usually considered a "misunderstanding"

of emptiness). The identity of this scapegoat, as we shall see, changed over time. For instance, in medieval China substantialism and radical nondualism bore this heavy burden.

Chapter Two examines the appearance of a "new" scapegoat during the late Tang and early Song. This new scapegoat had many names: the great death, rest, relaxation, cold ashes, withered trees, and silent illumination. The aim of this chapter is fourfold. First, I hope to establish the provenance of these metaphors and demonstrate that they were well-established metaphors for no mind and the attainment of the ineffable Way. Next, I hope to show that these metaphors had come to be met with suspicion sometime between the late Tang and early Song. I will then attempt to show that this shift in the understanding of these metaphors was related to the emergence of the encounter dialogue genre, a genre that exhibits an exceptionally refined understanding of apophatic rhetoric and word play. Lastly, I hope to reconstruct the process through which the narrow concerns of scholars and exegetes about sophisticated Buddhist doctrine (i.e., emptiness and no mind) metamorphosed into a more general, hermeneutic predicament that some like Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063-1135) took to be the defining characteristic of the encounter dialogue genre as a whole, namely how is one to reveal *that which is taken for granted but cannot be directly revealed*? Here, I believe, we can also witness a subtle shift from one malady to another: exegetes seem to have become more sensitive to the pathological potential (malady of meditation) of the act of distancing oneself from views of the absence of views (malady of emptiness). One solution was to take the words and deeds that the ancient masters used to distance themselves from the view of the absence of views and make them one's own.

In Chapter Three, I examine yet another instance of this metamorphosis. To do so, I turn to Dahui Zonggao, his autobiography, and the remedy that he recommended to those suffering from the malady of meditation, namely observing the phrase meditation (*kanhua chan* 看話禪). According to the general scholarly consensus, Dahui's attack on silent illumination was directed specifically at a rival tradition known as the Caodong 曹洞 and he launched this attack as a means to compete for literati support. While there is some

truth to this claim, I wish to argue against it. I will attempt to show that Dahui's condemnation of silent illumination and his advocacy of observing the most critical phrase from each encounter dialogue have less to do with internecine polemics and struggle for support than with the question of what it means to personally witness (*qinzheng* 親證) the ineffable Way and know it for oneself (*zizhi* 自知). This question consumed Dahui, as we shall see, because he believed that a solution to the old concerns about the great death and the hermeneutic predicament of the encounter dialogue could be had therein. But the notion of knowing the way for oneself proved to be laden with inherent problems of its own. How, for instance, was one to reconcile the tension between the need to know the Way (*dao*) for oneself and the equally important obligation to adhere to received models and articulations of the path (*dao*)? It is this tension, I believe, that fueled Dahui's attack on silent illumination and not, as many assume, the other way around.

Chapter Four returns to Hakuin and his illness. In addition to what I discuss in the previous chapters I hope to show that three different turns of events from three different contexts had played the most critical role in Hakuin's conception of his illness: (1) the ascendance of the Linji 臨濟 faction during the Song, (2) the Buddhist revitalization efforts during the Ming, and (3) Hakuin's efforts to establish his own vision of Zen viz-a-viz these earlier developments. What we find in all three contexts is the reinvention of the tenet (*zongzhi* 宗旨) ostensibly bequeathed by Chan master Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867) to his spiritual lineage. But the reinvention of the tenet of Linji took place in each context for different reasons and this difference, I argue, is crucial. Anxieties about esoteric transmissions and elaborate textual practices, fueled by deeper anxieties about knowing the Way for oneself and adhering to established models of the path, seem to have flourished during the Song, and these anxieties seem to have served as the first catalyst for the tenet's reinvention. The opposite, however, seems to be true for the late Ming. It was, in other words, the lack of authoritative textual practices and interpretative communities that prompted the reinvention of the tenet of Linji. But this lack seems to have presented the late Ming saṃgha with yet another predicament. Simply put, as the study of the sayings of old was reinvigorated in the late Ming anxieties about

knowing the Way for oneself resurfaced, but the lack of authoritative textual practices and interpretative communities seems to have made it difficult to find an external scapegoat on which to lay blame for these anxieties. So, the body or the individual, I argue, came to bear the heavy burden of becoming the seat of these anxieties. In their influential primers for Chan (a genre that flourished during the Ming), Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲袾宏 (1535-1615) and Wuyi Yuanlai 無異元來 (1575-1639), for instance, show little, if any, interest in explicitly blaming heresy for the spread of the malady of meditation as was the case for Dahui. Rather, they show an unprecedented level of interest in the specific effects that the study of koans and the malady of meditation have on the practitioner's own mind and body.

There is no denying that these texts had influenced Hakuin's views on the malady of meditation. He frankly admits to having benefited from these primers himself. But he seems to have remained rather ambivalent about the influence that this "new" and, in his opinion, perverted Chan from the continent exerted on his own Zen tradition (and not to mention his own views on Zen). Hakuin, for instance, even went so far as to blame late Ming Chan for the spread of dead sitting and silent illumination, and hence the malady of meditation, in Japan. Be that as it may, Hakuin's unrivaled interest in illness and ministering to the ill seems to have been deeply indebted, ironically, to the new developments in the understanding of the malady of meditation that took place during the late Ming. In effect, the very arsenal from which Hakuin gathered the necessary weapons to battle the heretical Chan of late Ming was none other than late Ming Chan itself.

Hakuin did not, however, restrict his battle with quietude and the malady of meditation to an attack on late Ming Chan. As we shall see in Chapter Five, he also hoped to fight the anxiety of stagnation (*todokoori* 滞り) that swept through the Edo populace. Although quietude of mind had reigned for centuries as the ideal of nourishing life (*yōjō* 養生), rising anxieties about stagnation of vital energy (*ki* 氣) began to render this ideal suspect. Labor and hard work (or, for Hakuin, meditative-work) emerged in its stead as the new ideal of nourishing life. But this was not the end of the story for Hakuin. As I hope to show in Chapter Five, the malady of meditation, for Hakuin, may have had as

much to do with anxieties about labor (*rō*) and exhaustion (*rō*) as with anxieties about stagnation. What this seems to suggest is that Hakuin's illness was not simply the product of his failure to engage in meditative-work by engaging, for instance, in dead sitting, but of problems inherent to meditative-work itself. With this final thought on labor, exhaustion, and the malady of meditation I conclude this dissertation.

Chapter One. Getting Sick Over Nothing (*wu* 無)

Introduction

Before we formally embark on our study of illness and Zen or, more specifically, the malady of meditation I want to briefly direct our attention to the title of this chapter, "getting sick over nothing (*wu*)." To those who have some familiarity with koans, the pun on the famous dog koan of Chan master Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778-897) will be immediately recognizable in the title: "A monk asked Zhaozhou, 'Does a dog have buddha nature or not?' [Zhao]zhou answered, 'No (*wu*).'"[1] But the title is intended to be more than just a facetious pun. Not only did practitioners of Chan and Zen, as we shall see, literally succumb to the malady of meditation while mulling over this koan but they also seem to have become ill precisely because there was, as the title states, nothing to get sick

[1] 趙州和尚因僧問、狗子還有佛性也無、州云無. Although Zhaozhou's dog koan is better known as the first case in the famous koan compendium, *Wumen guan* 無門關 (Wumen's Barrier or Gateless Barrier; T48.2005.292c23-24), the record of this koan in the *Zhaozhou zhenji chanshi yulu* 趙州眞際禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Zhaozhou Zhenji; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Zhaozhou*) is probably closer to its earliest form. The *Recorded Sayings of Zhaozhou* is preserved in a twelfth-century collection known as the *Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 (Essence of the Sayings of the Old Worthies) compiled by a certain librarian (*zangzhu* 藏主) by the name of Ze 賾 at Mt. Gu 鼓山. The *Guzunsu yuyao* was first published sometime between 1138 and 1144 and republished on several different occasions. In 1267, Ze's twenty-two fascicle text (covering 20 houses of Chan) was expanded into twenty-nine fascicles (to cover 25 houses) and reprinted by a certain layman named Juexin 覺心. A newly expanded Ming edition of the *Guzunsu yuyao* served as the basis for a collection of recorded sayings known as the *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語録 (Recorded Sayings of the Old Worthies), which is now widely used today. The forty-eight fascicle edition of *Guzunsu yulu* was included in the so-called Southern Canon 南藏 of the Ming printed at Baoen si 報恩寺. Like many other Chan related texts, the Southern Canon edition of the *Guzunsu yulu* was redacted by a certain Dingyan Jingkai 定巌淨戒 (ca. 14 C.E.), a seventh generation descendant in Dahui's lineage. Not surprisingly, the new additions that have been made to the *Guzunsu yulu* are mainly recorded sayings of those belonging to Dahui's lineage; see Yanagida 1973d and Shiina 1993a: 322-323. For an invaluable study on the contents and history of the Ming canon, see Nozawa Yoshimi 1989a, 1989b, and 1998. For more information on the *Guzunsu yulu*, see especially Nozawa 1998: 227-243. For more information on Jingkai, see Nozawa 1998: 108-113. For a list of the extant copies and reproductions of the Song edition of the *Guzunsu yuyao*; see Shiina 1993a: 94, 555-556. When citing texts from the *Guzunsu yuyao* I will refer to both the Song edition of this text published by Yanagida Seizan in his *Zengaku sōsho* 禅学叢書 series (Yanagida 1973c) and the Ming edition of the *Guzunsu yulu* in the *Dainihon zokuzokyō* 大日本續藏經 (ZZ118). For more information on the Song editions of this text, see Yanagida 1972. For Zhaozhou's dog koan, see Yanagida 1973c: 45 and ZZ 118.314a-8-10, 321b14-16, 324a6-7. See also Sharf 2007.

over. And this brings us to an important point to which I shall repeatedly refer throughout this study: for some, nothing can, in fact, be something; and, for others, this was nothing short of a pathological condition.

Writing sometime in the seventh century, the Indian exegete Candrakīrti offers an amusing yet insightful parable in his *Prasannapadā* that captures the above point very well. If one were to mistake emptiness (*śūnyatā*)—the absence of views (*dṛṣṭi*) and of own being (*svabhāva*)—for a real entity (*bhāva*), this is, according to Candrakīrti, "as if a shopkeeper were to say, 'I have nothing to sell you,' and would receive the answer, 'Very well, then just sell me this—your absence of goods for sale.'"[2] Shortly after relating this tale Candrakīrti also tells us that even "the greatly wise, the tathāgatas, having diagnosed this malady with their great art of healing, reject it."[3] But long before Candrakīrti ever took note of this tendency to see nothing as something and the diagnosis of this tendency as a form of illness the legendary Nāgārjuna, on whose work the *Prasannapadā* is based, had already raised this very same issue and even spoke of it in terms of a pathological condition.[4] It was, in fact, a specific verse from Nāgārjuna's influential work the

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[2] La Vallée Poussin 1992: 247-248; trans. Huntington 1989: 29. For an alternative English translation, see Sprung 1979: 150.

[3] La Vallée Poussin 1992: 248; cf. Sprung 1979: 150.

[4] Needless to say, emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and nonexistence, or what I refer to as "nothing" (*wu*), do not necessarily refer to the same thing (cf. n. 26). The confusion of the two has often been criticized as a form of annihilationism (S. *ucchedavāda*, C. *duanjian* 斷見), which in turn has often been confused with nihilism. Similar concerns had been raised with regards to the doctrine of nirvana and such concerns show no signs of abating; see Welbon 1968; Collins 1998; and Droit 2000. The sheer amount of ink spilt on this issue, however, belies the ease with which emptiness and nonexistence can be differentiated, and it was this difficulty, as we shall see, that led to rise of the malady of emptiness. When I conflate the two here I do so with this in mind. On this issue, see also the an invaluable piece by Nagao Gadjin (1978) with the telling title, "'What Remains' in Śūnyatā: A Yogācāra Interpretation."

It should be pointed out here that the difficulty of distinguishing emptiness from nonexistence or non-being was exacerbated in China because the character *wu* or *benwu* 本無 ("original nonbeing")—loaded terms that played important roles in the intellectual sphere of early and medieval China—had often been used by the early Chinese translators and exegetes to translate *śūnyatā* (and/or variants thereof). This practice is often referred to as "matching concepts" (*geyi* 格義); see Zürcher 1972.

Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Verses on the Principles of the Middle), also known as the *Madhyamakaśāstra* (Treatise on the Middle), that prompted Candrakīrti to speak of the parable of the shopkeeper in the first place. The verse in question goes as follows: "Emptiness is declared by the victorious ones as the exhaustion of all views (*dṛṣṭi*); those who take emptiness [itself] as a view are called incurable (*asādhya*)."[5] As if to provide scriptural support for this verse and his own reading of it, Candrakīrti also makes reference to an influential passage from the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (Kāśyapa chapter) of the *Māhāratnakūṭa* (Great Pile of Jewels) that similarly raises the issue of turning emptiness into a view and hence into illness. In fact, pointing to the same passage from the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, the buddhologist David S. Ruegg has also noted a connection between the two sources and has gone so far as to claim that this passage is clearly presupposed in Nāgārjuna's verse.[6]

The aim of the following chapter, however, is not to question the veracity of this claim.[7] Like Ruegg, I see a related concern addressed by both the *Kāśyapaparivarta* and again by Nāgārjuna, but for the purposes of this study this relation need not necessarily be assumed to be a direct one. Without making such assumptions, the following chapter will attempt to make sense of the recurrence, in a variety of sources, of

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As a refutation of the tendency to read emptiness as nonexistence, no passage received more attention than this simple yet provocative statement from the *Heart Sūtra*: "emptiness is form"; see Lopez 1996: 58-60, 195-197; Nagao 1978: 70-71. Curiously, in his commentary on this line from the *Heart Sūtra* the eminent Chinese exegete Fazang 法藏 (643-712) makes reference to two sources, the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and the *Madhyāntavibhāga*; Cook 1978: 190, 193. As Nagao point out, however, these two sources hold significantly different opinions with regards to the matter of "what remains" in *śūnyatā*; Nagao 1978: 74-76.

[5] La Vallée Poussin 1992: 247; cf. Sprung 1979: 150. *Asādhya* could also mean "cannot be made to succeed or accomplish" or, as we shall see, "un-savable." I would like to thank Alex von Rospatt for his assistance with the Sanskrit that I reference throughout this chapter. Needless to say, all mistakes are my own.

[6] Ruegg 1981: 6.

[7] Ruegg and others who classify Nāgārjuna as a "Māhāyanist" thinker have been taken to task by Ian Harris; see esp. Harris 1991: 44-62. For a recent study of Nāgārjuna in context, see Walser 2004.

the ambivalent topic of the malady of emptiness as repeated attempts to come to terms with what may very well prove to be a subtle twist on the peculiar logic of sacrifice: why, to get ahead of myself here, must emptiness be sacrificed for it to be effective (or, conversely, why does "nothing" come to haunt us as "something" if it isn't properly sacrificed)?[8] Although my initial pursuit of this question will largely focus on a number of rarefied, theoretical discourses about the malady of emptiness, this should not be taken to mean that this malady was thus a simple figment of the scholastic imagination. As I hope to show, the malady of emptiness eventually outgrew its humble beginnings as an abstract theoretical concept and metamorphosed into a variety of different, complex forms—some, as we shall see, more tangible than others. In fact, what I hope to have accomplished by the end of this study is to arrive at a better understanding as to why and how such a metamorphosis took place. But this will have to wait.

In the following chapter, I take on a far simpler task. As I state above, what I hope to provide in this chapter is a broad overview of some noteworthy, early discourses about the malady of emptiness. In my overview of these discourses, I shall pay special attention to the profound sense of irony that they seem to have hoped to convey: the malady of emptiness was the product of a reflexive exercise in which the oft-used metaphors of medicine and illness were turned on their heads.[9] As it is revealed in the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, for instance, medicine (i.e., the teaching of emptiness) lingering in the body long after an illness (i.e., views) has been removed may bring about a reversal in status. A similar concern, as I hope to show, was also raised in the influential *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (The Teachings of Vimalakīrti) and again, on numerous occasions, in later Chan and Zen sources. Curiously, what we also find in these later sources are similar

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[8] What I have in mind here is the influential work of Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss (1968) on sacrifice and the insightful reading of their work provided in Taussig 1999: esp. 142-148.

[9] For a brief but useful overview of the Buddhist use of these metaphors, see Part One of Demiéville 1985. As an example, the Buddha is often likened to a great physician and the four truths are respectively likened to an illness caused by a poisoned arrow, its proper diagnosis, the proper cure, and the proper medicine; for instance, see the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* T29.1558.114a9-a17.

reports of people who purport to have succumbed to the malady of meditation as they reached a breakthrough or neared the desired end of their koan practice. But why, we may ask, this compulsion to repeat?

There is, to be sure, more than one possible explanation, but since we are dealing with the problem of illness and its etiology it seems only natural that we entertain the possibility that the recurrence of the malady of emptiness (and, later, that of meditation) on the level of both discourse and reality could also be a sign of what, for lack of a better word, can be called a trauma. Furthermore, if, as I do here, we are to follow recent trends in psychoanalysis and other related disciplines that opt to see trauma not as the repressed memory of a singular event that can be localized in time and space but rather as a repeated "structuring of experience,"[10] then we must also give some serious

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[10] What I have in mind here, for instance, is the research on this topic (which builds upon Freud's earlier research on the sadomasochistic fantasy know as "A Child is Being Beaten" [1919]) carried out by the French psychoanalyst Jean Laplanche, who argued: "*what is repressed is not the memory but the fantasy derived from it or subtending it* . . . [a]nd yet it is clear that the repression of the fantasy can drag along with it into the unconscious the memory itself, a memory which after the event [*après-coup*] takes on a sexual meaning" (Laplanche 1976: 102). Here, I take fantasy to mean a narrative *scene* wherein an everyday object or event is rewritten ("fatansmatized") so that it reflects the *structure* of desire, that is, the pleasure of unpleasure (or, in Lacanian terms, *jouissance*). This understanding of desire (or, shall I say, the death drive) is based on the reworking of Freud's economic theory of pleasure in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). See also "scene of seduction" in Laplanche and Pontalis 1973: 404-408.

An indispensable study of Freud's theory of the "reality" of the so-called primal scene and castration, that is, of (etiological) origins can also be found in Masuzawa 1993: 76-161. For Freud, Tomoko Masuzawa observes, "the threat of castration breaks the ground and initiates signification . . . not in the moment of some simple beginning (at birth, for example) but rather in the middle of things" (Masuzawa 1993: 13). As the "typical" *structure* of fantasy, castration, in other words, belongs not necessarily to a particular moment in the past but to "several points in time, the time already in progress" (Masuzawa 1993: 131). And what is the proper object of castration? Castration, Masuzawa tells us, "has an object, but it is an *absent* object; or conversely, it does not have an object *because it has already lost it*; or, still more strangely, it *never could* have had an object because that original, 'real,' absent object is always a wrong object, an object meant for something else" (Masuzawa 1993: 146). Desire is therefore always the desire to be unsatisfied. Restating an earlier point cogently articulated by Samuel Weber, Masuzawa also writes: "'castration' is really a structure, a 'moment' that grounds phenomenality" (Masuzawa 1993: 136). The phrase "structuring of experience" is also borrowed from Weber; cited in Masuzawa 1993: 130. That the search for origins in analysis simply leads the analyst from one plot to another (each superimposed on the other as in the case of a palimpsest) has been pointed out by Peter Brooks in his insightful discussion of the Wolf Man case in his *Reading for the Plot*; see especially Brooks 1992: 277.

consideration to the idea that the malady of meditation is neither the brute reality of the frail human condition couched simply in theological terms, nor another instance of social construction,[11] but rather is that point where an embodied theology confronts its own impossibility.[12] Put differently, what I hope to examine are the changing theoretical and psychosomatic reactions, and the consequences of such reactions, to the hazards and anxieties—whose provenance we shall examine shortly—that serve as the constitutive conditions of establishing a soteriology without an expectation of *sōtērion* and an ethics without a notion of a higher or common good. But, for the sake of convenience, our journey begins with some early references to the malady of emptiness and the malady of meditation taken from various Buddhist sources.

The Malady of Emptiness

For our first example, let us once again turn to Nāgārjuna and his verse. Several centuries before Candrakīrti wrote his *Prasannapadā*, a certain Indian exegete by the name of

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[11] Social construction is too complex of an idea to be summarized in the limited space of a footnote, so I direct the reader's attention to the excellent work of Ian Hacking (1995, 1999). In the case of the malady of emptiness and meditation, I prefer not to employ this idea because the emergence of the malady is neither preceded by a perceivable change in social discourses about emptiness and illness nor restricted to a certain society, class, group, or social relation. Here, I would also like to briefly mention the work of Ruth Leys (2000). In her study of the genealogy of trauma, Leys underscores Freud's attempt to arrive at a satisfying solution to the tension between the problem of imitation or mimesis (i.e., Is trauma the product of hypnotic suggestion or *sui generis*?) and the antimimetic tendency to regard trauma as a purely external event. Leys rightly studies these tensions against the background of the rise of various theories of hypnosis in the 19th century and the aftermath of WWI. What I would suggest here is that these tensions are—if we are to take Freud's theory of the death drive seriously—not so much a problem, as Leys seems to imply, as a solution. That is to say, the work of trauma and hence desire is possible *only because* "fantasmatization" (to borrow Laplanche's terminology) relies on an "external crutch" (i.e., memory of a "real" event).

[12] By "embodied" I mean many things. Not only are the efforts to come to terms with the malady of meditation quite literally carried out by some-body and concerned with the physical stuff of which he or she is made, but these efforts, as we shall see, were also exerted in the hopes of dismantling a notion of salvation that had meaning only to the disembodied subject or the proverbial "view from nowhere" (i.e., the "cool" and "universalizing" perspective of the theologian or scholastic). Needless to say, concerns about the dangers of a disembodied theology would most likely have been raised by a fellow theologian or scholastic.

*Piṅgala (Binqieluo 賓伽羅) or *Vimalākṣa (Binluoqie 賓羅伽), whose identity remains a matter of some debate,[13] wrote what appears to be the earliest extant commentary on Nāgārjuna's work. The famed translator Kumārajīva (350- ca. 409)[14] is known to have overseen the Chinese translation of this influential commentary, the *Zhong lun* 中論 (Treatise on the Middle) or the *Madhyamakaśāstra*, in 409 while residing in the great city of Changan.[15] Like the *Prasannapadā*, this commentary also reverses the conventional relation between the metaphors of medicine and illness to explicate the fine points of Nāgārjuna's verse:

> *The great sage expounded upon the emptiness of dharmas,*
> *So as to [have us] transcend all views.*
> *If [you] again [hold] the view that emptiness exists,*
> *All the buddhas will be unable to save [you].*[16]
>
> The great sage, for the purpose of destroying the sixty-two views up to and including such afflictions as ignorance and lust, expounded upon emptiness. If a person produces further views about emptiness, then this person cannot be saved. For instance, if one is ill he must take medicine to be cured. If the medicine in turn becomes an illness then he cannot be cured.[17]

Although no scriptural sources are named, the reading of this verse through the lens of medicine qua illness also seems to lend further support to the claim that Nāgārjuna (or

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[13] See the appendix to Bocking 1995.

[14] These dates were suggested by Tsukamoto Zenryū. Alternative dates (343-413) have been suggested by Richard Robinson. For sources, see Sharf 2002: 292 n. 5.

[15] See Bocking 1995: 408 n. 4.

[16] Note that the corresponding term for "incurable" (*asādhya*) here as "un-savable" (*buhua* 不化). The term *buhua*, however, can also be glossed as "incurable."

[17] T30.1564.18c16-21. I borrow liberally from Brian Bocking's translation of this passage; Bocking 1995: 233-234. To distinguish the verse from its commentary I have italicized the former and not the latter.

whoever composed the above verse) was indeed alluding to the *Kāśyapaparivarta* of the *(Mahā)ratnakūṭa*. Consider, for instance, the following passage from the *Kāśyapaparivarta*:

> It is not, Kāśyapa, that emptiness leads to the annihilation of personhood; persons themselves are empty and emptiness itself is empty, absolutely empty, empty in the past, empty in the future, and empty in the present. You must rely, Kāśyapa, on emptiness, not on the person. However, those, Kāśyapa, who rely on emptiness with an objectification of emptiness I speak of as lost and vanished from this teaching. The speculation on the existence of the person in which one's reliance has been placed, be it as great as Mount Sumeru, is indeed better than the speculation on emptiness into which the conceited have settled. Why? Emptiness is the way out for those who engage in items of wrong speculation on the person, but by what means will they find a way out who hold to the speculations on emptiness? (64)
>
> It is just like this, Kāśyapa. Should some man be sick, and should a physician give medicine to him, and should that medicine, having evacuated all his diseases, not [itself] come to be cleared from his viscera, what do you think, Kāśyapa? Shall that sick man be freed of that sickness if that medicine, having evacuated all the diseases settled in his viscera, would not itself depart his viscera?
>
> Kasyapa said: "No, Blessed One. The disease of that man would be more serious if that medicine, having evacuated all the diseases, was settled in all his viscera and would not depart."
>
> The Blessed One said: "Just so, Kāśyapa, emptiness is the remedy for all items of wrong speculation, but then, Kāśyapa, one for whom emptiness itself becomes a wrong speculation I speak of as incurable. (65)[18]

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[18] Here I borrow Jonathan Silk's wonderful translation of these passages in the *Kāśyapaparivarta* from Lopez 2004: 353-354. For the corresponding passages in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, see von Staël-Holstein 1926: 95-98. For alternative English translations, see Huntington 1989: 57-58; Sprung 1979: 150-151. The *Kāśyapaparivarta* was translated into Chinese on several occasions (T11.310, T12.350, T12.351, T12.352). The earliest extant translation (T12.350) is attributed to

A brief glance at this passage will be sufficient, I believe, to convince anyone that there is indeed little reason to question the claim that, at least, a common theme runs through Nāgārjuna's verse and the *Kāśyapaparivarta*. Both are unequivocally concerned with the reification of emptiness into a view, which they declare to be incurable, and both give shape to this concern with some help from the metaphors of medicine and illness. Again, whether or not the connection between the two sources was more than just the reflection of a common theme is of no immediate concern to this study, which seeks to understand the way in which these sources were received rather than produced. It should be noted, however, that a more direct connection between the two sources, as I hinted at earlier, is suggested in the *Prasannapadā*, which cites the *Ratnakūta* by name in its commentary on Nāgārjuna's verse.[19]

Whatever the case may be it must be borne in mind that the *Kāśyapaparivarta* was not unique in its attempt to bring the issue of the reification of emptiness into relief via the old metaphors of medicine and illness. In point of fact, the first name to come to anyone's mind when they hear the words emptiness and illness mentioned in the same breath, I suspect, is not that of Kāśyapa but that of the famed layman Vimalakīrti. Particularly noteworthy in this respect is a famous chapter from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* wherein the bodhisattva of wisdom, Mañjuśrī, finally, at the reluctance of the other major disciples and bodhisattvas, asks the layman about his illness.[20] His question to the layman is rather straightforward: "Layman, what is the cause of this illness?"[21] Vimalakīrti's

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Lokakṣema, who was active during the latter half of the second century. The last known translation (T12.352) was done in the Song (985). For the above passage, see T11.310.634a11-20; T12.350.191a1-191a12; T12.351.196b29-196c8. For more on the *Kāśyapaparivarta* and its relation to the issue of the rise of Mahāyāna, see Silk 1994.

[19] The title *Ratnakūta* seems to have been used in India only in reference to a single text, the *Kāśyapaparivarta*; see Silk 1994: 640 and Nattier 2003: 31-32.

[20] In discussing the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, I will base my discussion on Kumārajīva's translation, the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (T14.475). I do so for several reasons: its accessibility, its relatively early date of compilation, and, most importantly, its extensive influence on East Asian Buddhism.

[21] 居士是疾何所因起 (T14.475.544b19-20); trans. Watson 1997: 65.

response is equally straightforward: "This illness of mine is born of ignorance and feelings of attachment. Because all living beings are sick, therefore I am sick."[22] As Vimalakīrti explains, this is just like the parents of an only son who is sick—they become sick because their only son is sick. In other words, "the illness of the bodhisattva arises from his great compassion."[23]

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[22] 從癡有愛則我病生、以一切衆生病是故我病 (T14.475.544b20-21); trans. Watson 1997: 65. Kumārajīva seems to have borrowed this translation from Zhi Qian's 支謙 (n.d.) earlier third century translation; see T14.474.525c7.

[23] 菩薩病者以大悲起 (T14.475.544b28); trans. Watson 1997: 66. Here, the first question to come to any reader's mind, I suspect, is, "in what sense, then, is this illness real?" For instance, Vimalakīrti explicitly states that "my illness is neither real nor does it exist" 我此病非真非有 (T15.475.545a26); cf. Liebenthal 1968: 58. See also Demiéville 1985: 26-29. Demiéville claims that there seems to be a stark contrast between Mahāyāna and pre-Mahāyāna attitudes towards a similar issue: is illness, a form of suffering, removed when one attains awakening? See Demiéville 1985: 2-3. Pre-Mahāyāna sources, according to Demiéville, often address this issue by stating that an arhat or buddha is free from the unwholesomeness of the mind but not that of the body (cf. Demiéville 1985: 21). Mahāyāna sources, in contrast, uphold the view that illness does not apply to the dharma body and is largely a skillful means used by the holy ones (i.e., the bodhisattvas) for the sake of delivering others from suffering.

What Demiéville may have had in mind when speaking of the Mahāyāna attitude is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom). It is stated in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* that the layman "used skillful means to manifest illness in the body" 以方便現身有疾 (T14.475.539b10; cf. Watson 1997: 34 and Lamotte 1987: 131). To those who came to inquire about his illness, Vimalakīrti explained that "this body" (*shishen* 是身) is impermanent and subject to illness, suffering, and death. To be free of illness and suffering, according to Vimalakīrti, one must strive to attain the buddha body (*foshen* 佛身), which he identifies as the dharma body (*fashen* 法身); see T14.475.539b13-c12. Citing the example of the parents who fall sick on account of the sickness of their only son from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (The Great Calming and Contemplation) even speaks of a "malady of expediency" (*quanbing* 權病); see T46.1911.111a2-15 (cited in Lamotte 1987: 131 n. 19). The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* also mentions Ānanda's attempt to procure some milk for the Buddha when the latter became ill; see T14.475.542a1-25 (cf. Watson 1997: 50-51 and Lamotte 1987: 183-188). Vimalakīrti reminds Ānanda, however, that the Buddha's body is the dharma body and hence free from illnesses. The Buddha confirms what Vimalakīrti has said and tells Ānanda that he appeared in this impure world so as to save living beings. Curiously, a celestial voice then instructs Ānanda to get some milk and take it back to the Buddha!

The *Dazhidu lun* refers directly to this latter anecdote from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T25.1509.122a22-b6) and makes the following claim: "From this we know that what the Buddha has done is a skillful means and not a true illness; the causes and conditions of all the misdeeds [that he supposedly committed] are the same" 以是故知佛爲方便非實病也、諸罪因緣皆亦如是 (T25.1509.122b14-15; cited in Lamotte 1987: 419-420). The *Dazhidu lun* reaches this conclusion

What follows this account of the bodhisattva's compassion is undoubtedly one of the most famous passages from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (which, nonetheless, is worth revisiting here in some detail for reasons that will become clear shortly). Having received the short lesson on compassion from Vimalakīrti, Mañjuśrī suddenly asks why the layman's house is empty (*kong* 空) and without (*wu* 無) servants. The layman responds that the buddha lands (*foguotu* 佛國土) are also empty.[24] Then we reach what is perhaps the climax of their *pas de deux*:[25]

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in its attempt to address this intriguing question: if the Buddha is perfect in deportment why did he have to pay the price for nine crimes that he committed in the past? These retributions include 1. Sundarī's slander, 2. Ciñcā's slander, 3. injury to his big toe inflicted by Devadatta, 4. injury to his foot while moving a log, 5. headache caused by Virūḍaka's massacre of the Śākya clan, 6. chewing of barley at the invitation of the brahmin Agnidatta, 7. backache caused by cold wind, 8. six years of ascetic practice, 9. failure to receive food in a village of Brahmins and so forth. The *Dazhidu lun* also claims that "the dharma-essence-body of the Buddha can save living beings in ten directions of the world—that which received the retributions for crimes [committed] is the birth body of the Buddha" 法性身佛能度十方世界衆生、受諸罪報者是生身佛 (T25.1509.122a2-3). For French translation and sources; see Lamotte 1949-1980: 507-513. For an excellent overview of the problem of the illnesses of the Buddha; see Lamotte 1987: 416-420 (Appendice, Note V).

Similar claims can also be found in the *Upāyakauśalya sūtra* (Scripture on Skillful Means), which also refers to the Buddha's backache and headache; see also the account of the headache preserved in the *Sarvāstivādin vinaya* T22.1428.860b-861a, which is not mentioned in Lamotte 1949-1980. As one might expect, the *Upāyakauśalya sūtra* also tells us that the Buddha, whose body is the dharma body, is actually free of ailments, but he made reference to these ailments as a skillful means to reach those who would otherwise be unwilling to receive the Buddha's dharma. See Tatz 1994: 84; and also Demiéville 1985: 28-29.

But how are these two bodies (i.e., this [birth] body and the dharma body) related? Is one more (or less) "real" than the other? The confabulation of elaborate theories regarding multiple buddha bodies and those regarding "sympathetic resonance" (*ganying* 感應) belies the seeming simplicity of this issue; see Sharf 2002: 100-111, 128.

[24] Elsewhere in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* the Buddha exchanges a series of questions and answers about the purity of the buddha lands with his major disciple Śāriputra, who in the context of this text serves as a representative of old Buddhist order; see T14.475.538c4-539a6. When the Buddha declares that "a buddha land will be pure if the bodhisattva's mind is pure" 若菩薩心淨則佛土淨, Śāriputra justifiably asks why then is this buddha land (inhabited by himself and the current Buddha) is impure and full of filth and defilement. Śāriputra is then taught that purity is largely a matter of perspective, but when he fails to understand this teaching the Buddha, by touching the earth with his toe, miraculously transforms his buddha land into a pure land adorned with various precious jewels. The Buddha then declares, "My Buddha land has always been pure like this. But because I wish to save those persons who are lowly and inferior, I make it seem an impure land full of defilements, that is all" 我佛國土常淨若此、為欲度斯下劣人故、示是衆惡不淨土耳 (T14.475.538c25-27); trans. Watson 1997: 30. Presumably, what the Buddha miraculously

Again [Mañjuśrī] asked, "Why are they empty" (*yihe wei kong* 以何為空)?

In reply [Vimalakīrti] said, "Because of the emptiness of emptiness" (*yi kong kong* 以空空).[26]

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transformed was Śāriputra's view (*dṛṣṭi*), but this is not at all clear in the actual text. To what extent we can say that the defilements in this buddha land are "real" or illusory, in other words, remains a point of ambivalence within the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa.*

[25] T14.475.544c1-2. Cf. Watson 1997: 66; Thurman 1990: 43; Lamotte 1987: 225. *Pas de duex* is a wonderful expression for the brief exchange between Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti that I borrow from Watson 1997: 65. My own understanding of the following passage is greatly indebted to a seminar on medieval Chinese Buddhist texts overseen several years ago by Robert Sharf. Needless to say, any mistakes are my own.

[26] This short reply consisting of but three Chinese characters is difficult to translate and may be rendered in several different ways. The reply is often translated in the following manner: "They are empty because of emptiness" (cf. Watson 1997: 66; Thurman 1990: 43). Étienne Lamotte comes close to Kumārajīva's translation: "Ils sont vides de vacuité (*śūnyatāśūnya*)" (Lamotte 1987: 225). What we should also consider here is Zhi Qian's translation: "empty of emptiness" 空於空 (T14.474.525c16-17), which is closer to the Sanskrit, *śūnyatāśūnya*. Here, the particle *yu* 於 marks the second *kong* ("emptiness") as a direct object of the first *kong*. For the use of this particle in early Buddhist translations, see Zürcher 1979: 190, 199 n. 42.

We should also consider what the medieval commentators had to say about Vimalakīrti's reply. According to Sengzhao's 僧肇 (374-414) commentary, Kumārajīva offered this explanation: "Absent [of servants] because of the absence of objects; empty because the nature of the buddha lands is empty" 無以無物故、空以佛國性空故 (T38.1775.372c16-17). He then states that the buddha lands are empty in this latter sense of "ultimate emptiness" 即是畢竟空故空也; T38.1775.372c17. Here, Kumārajīva makes a crucial distinction between nonexistence (*wu* 無) and emptiness (*kong* 空). Mañjuśrī, Kumārajīva seems to imply, mistook the former for the latter when speaking of the emptiness of the buddha lands. Kumārajīva, for instance, rephrases Mañjuśrī's question (Why are they empty?) in the following manner: "The room is empty because of the absence of objects, but why then are the [buddha] lands empty?" 室中以無物為空國土復以何理為空耶 (T38.1775.372c11-12). To this Sengzhao, giving Mañjuśrī benefit of the doubt, simply adds, "so please tell me the meaning of ultimate emptiness" 將辯畢竟空義 (T38.1775.372c13).

Sengzhao offers a detailed explanation of the meaning of ultimate emptiness. First he claims that all existing things rise from the mind, and because they rise from the mind, opinions are formed and deluded thoughts thus come to exist 夫有由心生、心因有起、是非之城妄想所存; T38.1775.372c18. These deluded thoughts then give rise to virulent debates on existence and nonexistence, but if the mind can be emptied of thoughts then the discrimination of existence and nonexistence will cease. Alluding to a famous chapter from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (more on this in Chapter Two), Sengzhao also adds that one will then be able to make all things of this world equal and reflect a single purport without disrupting their true nature 能齊天地爲一旨而不乖其實; T38.1775.372c21-22. One will also be able to mysteriously penetrate all objects of the senses despite the fact that the self and objects are one 鏡群有以玄通而物我俱一; T38.1775.372 c22-23. Accordingly, as Sengzhao reminds us, *although one may wish to take the wisdom of emptiness and make existence empty, existence is inherently empty and that's it* 故以空智而空於有者、即有而自空矣;

Again [Mañjuśrī] asked, "[If emptiness is] empty, what use is there of emptiness" (*kong heyong kong* 空何用空)?[27]

In reply [Vimalakīrti] said, "nondiscrimination is emptiness, hence [the use of] emptiness" (*yi wufenbie* [*wei*] *kong gu kong* 以無分別[爲]空故空).[28]

T38.1775.372c25-26. How, he sardonically asks, could we provisionally take something away and then call it emptiness 豈假屏除然後為空乎; T38.1775.372c26-27. Thus, he claims, "the superior emptiness is the emptiness of wisdom and the inferior emptiness is the emptiness of dharmas" 上空智空、下空法空也 (T38.1775.372c27). In this same commentary, we also find a comment from Daosheng 道生 (d. 434) who states that the superior emptiness is the "emptiness of the wisdom of emptiness" (*konghui kong* 空慧空); T38.1775.372c29 (cf. T38.1775.373a10-11).

For a brief introduction to and sources that discuss Sengzhao and his work, see Sharf 2002: 31-39. The great influence that Sengzhao's commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* exerted on virtually all other medieval Buddhist commentaries on this text is also noted in Sharf 2002: 38. To date, Tsukamoto Zenryū's *Jōron kenkyū* (1955) still remains an indispensable tool for studying Sengzhao.

[27] This is another difficult passage that requires further consideration. An alternative translation is "why is emptiness empty?" (cf. Watson 1997: 66) or "What is 'empty' about emptiness" (Thurman 1990" 43). Lamotte gives, "Qu'est-ce qui est vide de vauité?" (Lamotte 1987: 225). The corresponding line in Zhi Qian's rather muddled translation, "emptiness is for what [or whom]?" (*kong fu shui wei* 空復誰爲; T14.474.525c18), and Xuanzang's 玄奘 (596-664) more lucid translation, "what sort of [or whose] emptiness is this emptiness?" (*ci kong shi weishi shui kong* 此空爲是誰空; T14.476.568a18) offer further alternatives. The corresponding line in Sanskrit, however, reads: "What is the emptiness of emptiness?" If we are to follow Zhi Qian and Xuanzang, *kong heyong kong* may also therefore be translated in the following manner: "[This] emptiness is an emptiness of what purpose?" According to Sengzhao's commentary, however, Kumārajīva is said to have offered the following comment on Mañjuśrī's question: "If the nature of dharmas is inherently empty then they are simply established as inherently empty; why would all the wise and the sagely again use the wisdom of emptiness and [attempt to] make all dharmas empty?" 若法性自空則應直置而自空、諸賢聖復何用空慧空諸法耶 (T38.1775.373a3-4; translation tentative). (Sengzhao, we may recall, made a similar comment; see n. 26 above.) Immediately following Kumārajīva's above comment, we find this surprising (and apparently contradictory; see n. 26 above) statement from Sengzhao: "the superior emptiness is the emptiness of dharmas, the inferior emptiness is the emptiness of the wisdom" 上空法空、下空智空也 (T38.1775.373a5). He then states: "The original nature of all dharmas is inherently empty. Why would one provisionally establish the emptiness of wisdom and then [attempt to seek] emptiness? 諸法本性自空何假智空然後空耶 (T38.1775.373a6).

[28] This translation is particularly confounding. An alternative translation is "It is empty of distinctions, therefore it is empty" (Watson 1997: 66). Or, "Constructions are empty, because of emptiness" (Thurman 1990: 43). Lamotte gives, "Les imaginations (*saṃkalpa*) sont vides de vacuité" (Lamotte 1987: 225). The corresponding line in Xuanzang's translation is worth considering here: "This emptiness is nondiscrimination as emptiness" 此空無分別空 (T14.476.568a18-19). This line in the Sanskrit edition reads: "nondiscrimination is the emptiness

In spite of the large number of available translations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, I have chosen to retranslate the above passage because I fear that the available translations, which are otherwise excellent, do not fully capture the subtle manner in which this convoluted passage was understood and perhaps even (re)shaped by its original translator, Kumārajīva, and those belonging to his immediate milieu.

If my reading of the commentaries is correct, each reply proffered by Vimalakīrti was understood, not as a straightforward answer, but as a tongue-in-cheek critique of Mañjuśrī's tendency to make (necessary but) false assumptions about emptiness. For instance, when Mañjuśrī justifiably asks why the buddha lands are empty—which in this case, according to Kumārajīva and others, is a confusion of the view of nonexistence (*wu*) with emptiness (*kong*)—Vimalakīrti responds that (such speculation on) emptiness is itself empty. If we are to follow the reading of the commentaries, Vimalakīrti's reply may be crudely rephrased in the following manner: "the buddha lands are empty because there is no need for a concept like emptiness (or, they are empty because we don't ask questions like that)." Failing to comprehend this sarcastic reply and taking it too literally, Mañjuśrī asks what use there would then be for a concept like emptiness. To this query, Vimalakīrti

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of emptiness." According to Sengzhao's commentary, Kumārajīva made sense of this translation as follows: "Superior emptiness is the wisdom of emptiness [sic] and inferior emptiness is the emptiness of dharmas. Although the nature of dharmas may be inherently empty do not wait for the wisdom of emptiness. If [however] there is no wisdom of emptiness then the self will come to exist. If [you] use this 'wisdom of nondiscrimination as emptiness' (*wufenbie konghui* 無分別空慧) and attain this emptiness, then the self will be empty" (T38.1775.373a10-13). Curiously, Kumārajīva seems to be contradicting himself here (see n. 27 above) when he advocates the need for a wisdom of emptiness.

Sengzhao's own take on Vimalakīrti's response, however, leaves little, if any, room for wisdom. In keeping with an earlier observation (see n. 26 above), Sengzhao explains: "To have wisdom about something is to produce. [Dharmas] rise from discrimination, yet all dharmas are devoid of marks. Therefore wisdom is devoid of discrimination. If wisdom is devoid of discrimination then wisdom is empty (*zhikong* 智空). If all dharmas are devoid of marks then dharmas are empty (*fakong* 法空). If he who is wise does not discriminate with regards to dharmas then he knows the emptiness of dharmas, and that's it. How could there be something separate like the 'emptiness of wisdom' (*zhikong* 智空) that provisionally sets up something like the 'dharma of emptiness' (*kongfa* 空法)? When wisdom does not discriminate in this manner, at that time the wisdom about dharmas will become identical to a single emptiness. There is no separate emptiness. Therefore it is said, 'since nondiscrimination is the emptiness of wisdom, wisdom is aware of the emptiness of dharmas' 以無分別為智空故智知法空矣" (T38.1775.373a13-19).

again offers what appears to be a subtle parody in reply, which for clarity's sake we can once again rephrase more crudely in the following manner: "Indeed, there is no need for an emptiness like yours since by emptiness we actually mean nondiscrimination, and it is only in this sense that we need emptiness."

Mañjuśrī, of course, cannot be ridiculed here, for he is just another foil in a didactic drama prearranged by the skillful layman Vimalakīrti, who magically (and literally)[29] emptied his room precisely for this purpose. What purpose? The underlying motivation behind this drama, like the passage from the *Kāśyapaparivarta* that we examined earlier, was to remind one of the potential dangers of the view of emptiness itself. Simply put, if even the wisest of all bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī, can so easily reify emptiness and mistake the view of nonexistence for emptiness, how much more so for mere mortals like us? But why, we may sheepishly ask, is emptiness so amenable to reification? And, why, as the exegetes rhetorically ask, do we seek something like the wisdom of emptiness (*kongzhi* 空智) instead of the emptiness of wisdom (*zhikong* 智空; i.e., nondiscrimination)?

Who better to ask than Vimalakīrti? According to Vimalakīrti, "the root of illness" (*bingben* 病本) lies in the deluded attachment to the notion of a self.[30] To rid oneself of this stubborn attachment one must rid oneself of dualisms. This can be done, Vimalakīrti explains, by treating all things, even such unlikely bedfellows as self and nirvana, as "equal" (*pingdeng* 平等). This, he adds, is possible precisely because all dualisms (and discriminations) are empty. So far so good, but Vimalakīrti then makes this critical revelation: "Once one has acquired this kind of equal outlook, one will be freed of all other illness and will have only the illness of emptiness, and the illness of emptiness too is empty."[31] Kumārajīva's own account of this titillating statement is quite instructive:

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[29] The ambiguity of Vimalakīrti's trick is only strengthened by the use of both *wu* ("without" [servants]) and *kong* ("empty") in Kumārajīva's translation of the relevant passage. Given this ambiguity, it is no surprise that Mañjuśrī found himself in such a difficult position.

[30] For the following discussion, see T14.475.545a1-12 passim.

"The nonexistence of self and the nonexistence of dharmas have already been clarified, but one has not yet let go of emptiness. If one has not yet let go of emptiness then emptiness becomes bondage. Bondage then becomes an illness. Therefore [Vimalakīrti] claims that the illness of emptiness is also empty."[32]

Perhaps, for the sake of argument, we can rephrase Vimalakīrti's (and Kumārajīva's) point in the following manner: in redrawing *absolutely every view* as empty, it is (is it not?) inevitable that we paint ourselves into a corner and become ill. The solution? Nothing, not even emptiness itself, is exempt from its mission to negate dualistic views, so emptiness must also be sacrificed lest it come to literally plague us as a stubborn remainder of its own methodical process of negation. That is to say, emptiness is also empty. Considering the amount of ink (not to mention my own) that has already been spilt on the notion of emptiness, we need not dwell on this famous dictum too long, but we should make quick note of one curious fact: what Vimalakīrti offers as a solution is a self-referential paradox akin to that of Epimenides ("Cretans," as the great Cretan put it, are "all liars").[33] Does this undermine emptiness? Yes and no. I say 'yes' for obvious

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[31] 得是平等無有餘病, 唯有空病空病亦空 (T14.475.545a12-13); trans. Watson 1997: 69. Curiously, this passage is not found in Zhi Qian's earlier translation: "the consummation of the Way by the ordinary person and the sage both come forth from equanimity; illness is no different" 凡聖道成皆從平等病亦不異 (T14.474.526a23-24). Also, in a commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* found at Dunhuang, we find a reference to the verse from the *Zhong lun* (see introduction and beginning of this section) cited in support of Vimalakīrti's claim that "the illness of emptiness is also empty"; see T85.2771.371c12-13.

[32] 上明無我無法而未遣空、未遣空則空為累、累則是病故明空病亦空也; T38.1775.377a13-15.

[33] Robert Gimello eloquently summarizes this problem in the following manner:

> In the technical language of Buddhism, emptiness is not an ascriptive new (*dṛṣṭi*) about dharmas. Rather it is an expression of the resolute refusal to predicate or ascribe, indeed, of the impossibility of such operations. Emptiness, in other words, is the very principle of denial of determinancy within this system of Mahāyāna discourse, the cognitive equivalent of the words "no" or "not" within the system of discourse known as ordinary English usage. Admittedly this reflexive function of emptiness—by which it eludes classification as a determining predicate, denies itself (*śūnyatā-śūnyatā* 空空), and so avoids hypostatization—is puzzling in a peculiarly deep sense. Like the well known paradox, "everything I say is a lie," its difficulty may well derive from some quirk in the structure of language or thought, perhaps from some problem inherent in the notion of reflexive negation itself (Gimello 1976a: 7).

reasons and 'no' because this cunning solution surreptitiously establishes an irreproachable exception by ironically declaring that there can be none (i.e., emptiness, as one fashionable philosopher put it, "includes itself out"); hence, I submit, the tendency to reify emptiness.

What the reader of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* must therefore confront, I believe, is the issue of how to properly sacrifice emptiness. Is emptiness, for instance, a poisonous medicine or a hazardous tool (*upāya*) that the bodhisattva must warily wield for the sake of a higher good (i.e., wisdom) but eventually discard like the proverbial raft that takes one to the other shore?[34] Or, can emptiness still be sacrificed even if one refuses to discard it in such a manner? The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* offers no ready-made answers and, despite its repeated reference to emptiness, the text seems to remain essentially ambivalent about the ethical status of emptiness. The famous chapter entitled "Entering the Gate of Nonduality" (*ru buermen* 入不二門) is a good case in point.[35] Having heard the other bodhisattvas demonstrate their own understanding of the meaning of nonduality—many, as one might expect, spoke of the need to see things as equal—Vimalakīrti himself, as is well known, is said to have simply remained "silent and speechless" (*moran wuyan* 默然無言) when asked to give his own explanation.[36] Needless to say, this very pregnant silence

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See also Gimello 1976b: 120.

[34] See MN I: 135 (cf. T1.26.764b-c; and also the *Jingang banruo poluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T8.236.748b-). With respect to the objects of meditation, Vimalakīrti's answer seems to be an emphatic "no." Consider, for instance, this line from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: "Though he practices the four stations of mindfulness, in the end he does not for long remove himself from the objects of such mindfulness, the body, sensations, the mind, and things—such is the practice of the bodhisattva" 雖行四念處而不永離身受心法是菩薩行 (T14.475.545c14-15); trans. Watson 1997: 73.

[35] T14.475.550b28-551c27. Cf. Watson 1997: 104-111. For medieval Chinese exegesis on this chapter, see Hureau 2002.

[36] T14.475.551c22.

did not prevent generations of exegetes and intellectuals from speculating further on its significance and on the secret that this silence seems to convey.[37]

In Chan and Zen, for instance, two responses to the aporia of nonduality and emptiness stand out from the rest: unless one is to uphold the antinomian view that delusion is itself enlightenment,[38] which few were inclined to do, one either (1) strictly adhered to the negation of deluded dualisms—the emptiness of wisdom—with the ironic expectation of eventually reaching a nondualistic insight (silent illumination) or (2) rigorously carried out the sacrifice of emptiness by insisting on working *squarely within* dualisms and attempting to express and embody, rather than avoid or resolve, the paradox that we call the wisdom of emptiness (observing the phrase).[39] (For the sake of argument,

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[37] See Gómez 1976.

[38] On this, see Faure 1991: 59-63.

[39] For Theravādin parallels to the latter response, see Collins 1998: esp. 205. We must be careful not to read these two Chan responses against the background of a well-known tension between what the eminent buddhologist Louis de La Vallée Poussin called the "deux théories opposées" in various Buddhist sources (La Vallée Poussin 1937: 189). Simply put, there is, on the one hand, the "intellectual" or "rationalistic" theory, characterized by the attainment of liberation via insight or discernment (e.g. *prajñā* and *vipaśyanā*), and the "ascetic" or "mystic" theory, characterized by calm and concentration (e.g. *dhyāna*, *samādhi*, *śamatha* etc.) on the other. Scholars still show disagreement as to how to reconcile the two theories when speaking of the content of enlightenment and liberating insight. Referring to the reputed first sermon of the Buddha entitled "putting in motion the wheel of the teaching" (*dhamma cakka ppavattana*), Tilmann Vetter, for instance, has argued that the middle way cannot be simply regarded as an avoidance of extremes but also as "the possibility of perceiving something in the middle that one normally does not observe, i.e. very likely the potential, inherent in everyone, of practicing dhyāna-meditation" (Vetter 1988: xxiv). This reading seems to be supported by the sermon's own interpretation of the middle way as the eightfold noble path, which Vetter claims, culminates in right concentration (*sammā samādhi*); see Vetter 1988: xxvii, xxx, 10, and 13. Since right concentration, according to Vetter, can be equated with the four *dhyāna*s, the middle way may also be equated with the latter. If Vetter is correct then there seems to be good reason to believe that *dhyāna*-meditation constituted an early (or, shall I dare say, earliest) phase in the historical development of Buddhist theories of liberation. Rupert Gethin, however, has raised some doubts about such interpretations of the eightfold noble path as consisting of progressive stages. Rather, he argues, "the process formula in the case of the factors of the path is intended to show the continuing priority of right view at all stages of the spiritual path" (Gethin 2001: 221). While Gethin's reading seems to be supported by the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*'s continual emphasis on right view (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), this emphasis does not (as Gethin seems to presume) explain away the same *sutta*'s own descriptions of the first seven factors of the eightfold noble path as the "support" (*saupaniso*) and "equipment" (*saparikkhāro*) of

we may even go so far as to say that whereas the former privileges Vimalakīrti's silence the latter gives due credit to the soteriological value of Mañjuśrī's deceptively naïve queries.[40]) In fact, advocates of the latter position even claimed that the true enjoyment of traversing the Way—the taste of the Dharma (*fawei* 法味) and the sense of felicity that it provides—is lost the moment we subsume it under the perverse dialectic of dualistic reality and its nondualistic exception (be it emptiness, wisdom, compassion, silence, or what have you).[41] The only way to preserve it, we are told, is to vigilantly guard against

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right concentration; see Gethin 2001: 216-223. For the first sermon, see the *Mahāvagga* portion of the Pāli *Vinaya* (I 10 ff.) and the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (56.11). For secondary scholarship on this sermon, see Schmithausen 1981: 202 n. 8.

The various disagreements and debates about the relationship between these two theories seem to be concerned primarily with history and methodology. In a very useful summary of the debates concerning their historical relation, Gethin refers to the work of Winston King (1980) and Johannes Bronkhorst (2000); see Gethin 1998: 200-201. While King, touting the orthodox Theravādin view, argued that the pseudo-Buddhist practice of *dhyāna* was taken over by the true Buddhist practice of insight meditation, Bronkhorst, like Vetter, presented a thesis arguing the exact opposite case. As for methodology, Gethin and his mentor Lance Cousins (1984), not to mention Richard Gombrich (1990), raised serious concerns about the historical analysis of inconsistencies in Buddhist sources and argued instead for a careful consideration of what coherence the Buddhist tradition itself has found in these "inconsistencies." Others like Lambert Schmithausen (1981) accepted these inconsistencies as signs of historical development and used what is called "higher criticism" or Formgeschichte to reconstruct a "*relative* sequence (or sequences) of textual layers and/or sequence (or sequences) of stages of doctrinal development" (Schmithausen 1990: 2). For a useful discussion of the various methodological camps in the study of the earliest phase in the development of "Buddhism" (in the singular), see Schmithausen 1990.

[40] Although Mañjuśrī assumes the role of the foil in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, his questions (see above) may not have been so naïve after all. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters of this study, questioning emptiness in the manner of Mañjuśrī was considered by the opponents of silent illumination as the key to unlocking the mystery of Vimalakīrti's silence.

[41] This should not be taken to mean that the bodhisattva delights in the taste of meditation. As Vimalakīrti claims, "To become infatuated with the taste of meditation is the bondage of the bodhisattva" 貪著禪味是菩薩縛 (T14.475.545b5-6); trans. Watson 1997: 70. See also T14.474.526b15-16; T14.476.569a19-20 (cf. Thurman 1990: 46 and Lamotte 1987: 233). According to Sengzhao's commentary, Kumārajīva spoke of two types of attachments to the taste of meditation, namely the śrāvaka's attachment to nirvana and the bodhisattva's attachment to the path; T38.1775.378c4-. Sengzhao himself, on the other hand, states that it is the followers of the śrāvakayāna and the pratyekabuddhayāna that become infatuated with the taste of meditation because they strive for enlightenment (*zheng* 證). I shall have more to say on the term *zheng* in chapter three. It also seems worth noting here that in an earlier passage from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*

dwelling in false notions of the exception or, better still, to expose every inimitable demonstration of the exception (performed by the patriarchs) as an *incomplete* message that is only complete when rendered suspect (by the persistent inquiries of the uninitiated).[42]

In sum, as evil and potentially hazardous as it may or may not be, the bodhisattva's art of "regulating his/her mind" (*tiaofu qi xin* 調伏其心), which differs from that of the śrāvaka in that *saṃsāra* is not abandoned for nirvana, can neither be simply ignored nor eventually discarded.[43] The bodhisattva must continue to regulate his/her mind by striving to see all things (e.g. self, afflictions, desires, and nirvana etc.) as empty and equal without abandoning any of them. But the bodhisattva's task does not end here, for such an equal outlook, as we may recall, always threatens to become an illness, an illness Vimalakīrti aptly calls the malady of emptiness (*kongbing* 空病). Worse still, since this illness can only be treated with the very same medicine that caused it in the first place, the bodhisattva faces a seemingly irresolvable conundrum—a conundrum, as we shall see, that came to haunt all those who followed in Vimalakīrti's (not to mention Kāśyapa's) footsteps. If, as I suggest, this conundrum, rather than the smooth veneer of compassion,

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the layman is said to "consume food yet experience the bliss of meditation as its taste" 雖復飲食而以禪悅為味 (T14.475.539a22).

[42] Although there are comparable developments within other traditions such as the Tiantai, I shall limit my discussion to Chan and Zen. I do so because the issues that appear within Tiantai circles are issues that arose in response to unique circumstances to which there are no clear parallels in Chan or Zen. Consider, for example, the so-called "home-mountain" (*shanjia* 山家) and "off-mountain" (*shanwai* 山外) controversies of the Song. At first glance, the controversy can be neatly divided into those who privileged the universal basis of all particular phenomena, that is, "nature" (*xing* 性) and those who argued for the nondual integrity of the universal and the particular by upholding the view that each particular contains the totality of everything else. The latter is commonly known as the "nature inclusion" (*xingju* 性俱) theory. Several factors complicate this neat picture. This controversy must be set against the background of the crisis in textual transmission within the so-called Tiantai tradition. Also, dissent that arose within the *shanjia* faction, which emerged from the controversy as Tiantai orthodoxy in the Song, must be given due consideration. For this controversy, see Chan 1999, Ziporyn 1999, and Ziporyn 2000. This is not to say that Chan and Tiantai were oblivious of each other. For the interactions between Chan and the *shanjia* faction of Tiantai, see Ōno Hideto 2002.

[43] For the art of regulating the mind in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, see T14.475.545a22-546a2.

is ultimately what defines a bodhisattva's true practice, then it appears to be the case that the bodhisattva must accordingly strive to cultivate, as I stated earlier, a soteriology without the expectation of *sōtērion* and an ethics without a notion of a higher good. The bodhisattva's task (*pace* Žižek), I might add, is thus potentially rendered immune from the accusation of being perverse.[44]

Finger Medicine, Moon Medicine

Before we go on to assess the impact of these earlier works on later traditions in China and Japan, it may be worth our while to first take a closer look at another important text that was also introduced to medieval China by Kumārajīva.[45] The text in question is a meditation manual, *Zuochan sanmei jing* 坐禅三昧經 (Scripture[s] on the Samādhi of Seated Meditation) or *Pusa chanfa jing* 菩薩禪法經 (Scripture on the Meditation Techniques of the Bodhisattva), that Kumārajīva prepared at the request of a famed disciple by the name of Sengrui 僧叡 (352-436).[46] What is particularly noteworthy about

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[44] See especially Žižek 2003: 22-23.

[45] As the eminent Chinese monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (344-416) exclaims, Kumārajīva's translation of this and other meditation manuals made an eagerly anticipated and welcome contribution to the growth in the understanding of meditation in China; see Zürcher 1972: 223. As Zürcher notes, Huiyuan makes this remark in his preface to the *Damoduoluo chan jing* 達磨多羅禪經 (Scripture on Meditation by Dharmatrāta; T15.618); T55.2145.65c18-19. A similar remark is also found in the actual preface that is attached to the text; see T15.618.301a27-29. For the *Damoduoluo chan jing*, see Zürcher 1972: 223; Tuskamoto 1985: 881-885; McRae 1986: 80-82; Yamabe 1999: 72-76; and Mohr 2006. Demiéville questions the title of the *Damoduoluo chan jing* as the text identifies itself as belonging to the class of texts known as the *Yogācārabhūmi* rather than a *chan jing* 禪經 ("meditation scripture"). In addition, Demiéville speculates that the manual might actually have been composed by Buddhabhadra's teacher Buddhasena and not by the latter's teacher, Dharmatrāta. See Demiéville 1978 (cited in Adamek 1997: 44 n. 88). For the *Damoduoluo chan jing* and its relation to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, see Odani 2000: 183-186.

[46] T15.614. According to the earliest extant catalogue of scriptures, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (A Compilation of Records from the Tripiṭaka) compiled in 515, the *Zuochan sanmei jing* (3 fascicles) was also known as simply as the *Chan jing* 禪經 (Scripture on Meditation) and the *Pusa chanfa jing*; T55.2145.11a14. The *Zuochan sanmeij ing* is also listed in Fajing's 法經 (n.d.) early catalogue of Buddhist texts, the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目録 (Catalogue of Various Scriptures), compiled in 594; T55.2146.129a9. The *Zhongjing mulu* notes that the *Zuochan sanmei jing* was also

this manual is the brief yet unmistakable reference to the malady of emptiness that it makes in its extended discussion of the hindrances to meditation. I say noteworthy not because a reference to the malady of emptiness is unexpected in a manual of this sort but because I believe the specific form in which the reference is made sheds much light on the "proper" context of this malady.

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known as the *Aluanruo xichanfa jing* 阿蘭若習禪法經 (Scripture on the Method of Cultivating Meditation in Araṇya; 2 fascicles). By the time Fajing compiled his catalogue, the *Zuochan sanmei jing* had clearly been edited down to its current size of two volumes; see Minowa 2003: 179-180.

Noting Sengrui's admission that he had tampered with the text for clarity's sake in his preface (T55.2145.65b19-21), Getsurin Kenryū has argued that the *Zuochan sanmei jing* was actually compiled by Sengrui and, as many disciples in China are known to have done, attributed (falsely) to Kumārajīva. Minowa Kiyotaka, noting the "translator's" intimate knowledge of Sanskrit or Prakrit texts, has recently submitted a counterargument. For these arguments, see Minowa 2003: 178.

In a colophon preserved in the *Dazhidu lun* we are also told that Kumārajīva had arrived in Changan on the twentieth day of the twelfth month of the third year of the reign period Hongshi 弘始 (401) and had begun his translation of the *Dazhidu lun*, which he completed on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the seventh year of the same reign period (405). During this period he is said to have made several other translations, including the *Chan jing*. See T25.1509.756c9-18; and also Lamotte 1949-1980: Vol. 3, XLV-XLVI.

The *Chu sanzang ji ji* also credits Kumārajīva with the translation of a meditation manual known as the *Chanfa yao* 禪法要 (Essentials of the Techniques of Meditation) in three fascicles; T55.2145.11a21. According to the *Chu Sanzang ji ji*, the *Chanfa yao* is said to have been published with additional corrections on the ninth day of the intercalary month of the year 407. As Minowa notes, however, the same dates are mentioned in Sengrui's preface to the *Zuochan sanmei jing*; T55.2145.658b18-19. According to the preface, the *Zuochan sanmei jing* was heavily edited on this date. From this Minowa concludes that the *Chanfa yao* is thus referring not to a separate text but to a new edited version of the *Zuochan sanmei jing*; see Minowa 2003: 180-181. According to Sengrui's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, the meditation manual that Sengrui requested was the *Chanfa yao* in three fascicles; T50.2059.364a22. This seems to further support Minowa's argument.

Kumārajīva is also known to have translated the *Chanfa yaojie* 禪法要解 (Explanation of the Essentials of Meditation; T15.616), but some question this attribution; see the discussion in Yamabe 1999: 82-84. Kannō Ryūshō, however, has recently argued that the text was indeed translated by Kumārajīva; see Kannō 2002: 84-85. The aforementioned colophon from the *Dazhidu lun* also attributes the *Chanfa yaojie* to Kumārajīva. Paul Demiéville argued that the *Chanfa yaojie* was not translated, but inspired by the *Dazhidu lun* and authored by Kumārajīva; see Demiéville 1954: 354 (noted in Lamotte 1949-1980: Vol. 3, XLVI n. 2).

Although the term *chan* 禪 does in numerous instances function as a transliteration of *dhyāna* in the above manuals, I prefer to translate the term as "meditation" because the term seems to have also been used in a more general sense to refer to various techniques (e.g. contemplation, mindfulness, counting of breath etc.) of what we now conventionally and rather loosely call meditation.

Lest we stray too far from the proper topic of this chapter, I shall limit myself to a succinct overview of the contents of the manual.[47] This will prove to be a particularly useful exercise in that it will also give us a good sense of what one would expect to find in a meditation manual before the grand synthesis and codification of these earlier teachings in Zhiyi's 智顗 (538-597) magnum opus *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (The Great Calming and Contemplation).[48] In general, the manual can be neatly divided into two halves. The first half briefly elaborates upon a number of well-established meditative techniques that, though circulating independently as authoritative practices in their own right, came to be collectively referred to by those who profess to belong to the Mahāyāna as the "five contemplations for putting the mind at rest" (*wu tingxin guan* 五停心觀) cultivated by the śrāvakas of the Hīnayāna.[49] The second half simply adds an additional interpretive layer on top of these techniques and attempts to explain why these techniques would then be relevant to a bodhisattva.

To accomplish this aim, the manual appears to have cobbled together a variety of different sources, or so we are told by Sengrui's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biography of Eminent Monks) and the short preface that he prepared for this manual.[50] In these sources Sengrui, for instance, attributes the first forty-three verses of the manual to the famous Indian poet Kumāralāta and the last twenty verses to the equally, if not

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[47] See Yamabe 1999: 76-80 and Mohr 2006: 220-221.

[48] The manuals that I have in mind here fall somewhere roughly in between the first wave of meditation manuals introduced to China by the Parthian An Shigao 安世高 in the second century (cf. Zürcher 1972: 32-34) and the compilation of the *Mohe zhiguan* (T46.1911) in the sixth. For a brief introduction to and analysis of these manuals, see Yamabe 1999: 59-114.

[49] For instance, see the *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 (Mahāyāna Encyclopedia, T44.1851.658a7-8, 668a17-669a16). The *Dasheng yizhang* appears to be the earliest extant text to use this expression; Mohr 2006: 240 n. 39. See also the *Mohe zhiguan* (T46.1911.35c14); and Hurvitz 1962: 253, 346-349. Mochizuki 1933-1936: 1258-1259. A very useful overview of the five contemplations can be found in Odani 2000: 137-203.

[50] See T50.2059.364a22-25 (cited in Robinson 1978: 76) and T55.2154.65a19-b20.

more, renowned poet Aśvaghoṣa.[51] We are also told that the "five gates" (*wumen* 五門) in the middle of the manual were culled from the meditation manuals (*chanyao* 禪要) of Vasumitra,[52] Saṃgharakṣa, Upagupta, Samghasena,[53] Pārśva,[54] Aśvaghoṣa, and Kumāralāta.[55] Most influential in this regard seems to have been the work of Saṃgharakṣa—referring presumably to his *Yogācārabhūmi* (Stages in the [Career] of a

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[51] The *Zuochan sanmei jing* does begin with forty-three pentasyllabic couplets (T15.614.269c29-270c27) that presumably belong to an earlier work by Kumāralāta. The twenty sextasyllabic couplets at the end of the manual (T15.614.285c1-286a11) have been identified by Matsunami Seiren as coming from Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*; noted in Yamabe 1999: 79 and Kannō 2002: 83. Sengrui also attributes some verses that occur in the middle of the manual to Aśvaghoṣa; see T15.614.273-274 passim. These have also been identified by Matsunami as citations from the *Saundarananda*. Sengrui's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* also confirms the above account; see T50.2059.364a22-23. For Kumāralāta, see Mochizuki 1958-1963: 717. Aśvaghoṣa is perhaps best known for his famous verses on the life of the Buddha known as the *Buddhacarita* (Acts of the Buddha) or *Fo suoxing can* 佛所行讚 (T3.192). In East Asia Aśvaghoṣa is also often remembered as the author of the influential apocrypha *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna, T32.1667). Curiously, it is noted in the preface to the *Damoduoluo chan jing* that the meditation manuals translated by Kumārajīva were based on the meditation manuals of Aśvaghoṣa; T15.618.301a28. In support of this claim, Kannō has also traced certain passages on meditation from Kumārajīva's *Dazhidu lun* back to the *Saundarananda*; see Kannō 2002: 86-88.

[52] A text entitled *Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṃghītiśāstra* (Treatise Compiled by the Venerable Bodhisattva Vasumitra; T28.1549) is attributed to Vasumitra. In the preface to this text, Vasumitra is said to be the next future Buddha (named Siṃha Tathāgata) after Maitreya; noted in Adamek 1997: 149.

[53] Saṃghasena, of whom we unfortunately know very little, is said to have authored the *Baiyu jing* 百喻經 (Scripture on a Hundred Parables; T4.209). According to the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, Saṃghasena is known to have collected parables from the twelve divisions of the *sūtra*s for the sake of educating beginners in the Mahāyāna, and this text was translated into Chinese by Saṃghasena's disciple Guṇavṛddhi on the tenth day of the ninth month in 492; T55.2145.68c24-28. Guṇavṛddhi's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* also records Saṃghasena as a "dharma master of the Mahāyāna" (*dasheng fashi* 大乘法師); T50.2059.345a25. See also the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 (Record of the Three Jewels Through the Ages); T49.2034.96a4-5. To my knowledge, there are no extant records of Saṃghasena as ever having composed a manual on meditation.

[54] For Parśva, see Yamabe 1999: 79 n. 62 and Minowa 2003: 179.

[55] The list that we have here appears to be a variant of the oft-quoted list of masters reproduced in the preface to the *Damoduoluo chan jing*, namely Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śaṇavāsa, Upagupta, Vaumitra, Saṃgharakṣa, Dharmatrāta, and Puṇyamitra; see T15.618.301c7-9 (cf. T55.2145.65c9-12 and T55.2145.66c5-7). See also Yampolsky 967: 8-9, McRae 1986: 79-81, Adamek 1997: 42-51; and Minowa 2003: 178. For an excellent study on the cult of Upagupta, see Strong 1992.

Master of Yoga)[56]—which apparently served as the basis for the extensive instructions concerning the treatment of lust, hatred, and ignorance (more commonly known as the three poisons) in the first half of the manual. The subsequent section on breath (*ximen* 息門), in contrast, is said to be a blend of the theories of various teachers, which undoubtedly also includes Saṃgharakṣa.[57] The manual is not, however, a simple pastiche of earlier manuals. Sengrui also informs us that the manual's instructions regarding "the bodhisattva's techniques of cultivating meditation" (*pusa xichan fa* 菩薩習禪法) was

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[56] On Saṃgharakṣa and his *Yogācārabhūmi* (T15.606, T15.607; cf. T4.194.115b15-c9 and T55.2145.71b3-16), see Demiéville 1954; Link 1957; Odani 2000: 175-182. Saṃgharakṣa's influence on the *Zuochan sanmei jing* was so apparent that he is even recorded as the author of the manual in its Yuan and Ming editions; noted in Mochizuki 1958-1963: 1441.

The Japanese scholar Odani Nobuchiyo provides a succinct overview of the arguments concerning Yogācāra (as articulated in the *Yogācārabhūmi*) as the bridge between Hīnayāna and Mahāyana (cf. Ruegg 1967: 162 n. 18a). On the relations between the *Yogācārabhūmi* and *Zuochan sanmei jing*, see also Odani 2000: 198-201. In speaking of this relation, Odani claims that the latter presents a more articulate and clear picture of the transition from the five contemplations of the śrāvakas to the contemplations of a bodhisattva; see Odani 2000: 2000. He cites a passage from the *Zuochan sanmei jing* that he believes to demonstrate this transition particularly well: "Disciples of Śākyamuni cultivate and learn the five dharma gates and seek nirvana. There are two types of people. Some tend to overemphasize meditation because of bliss. Others tend to overemphasize wisdom because they fear the pain of suffering. Those who overemphasize meditation first learn methods of meditation and later learn nirvana. Those who emphasize wisdom directly proceed to nirvana. Those who proceed directly to nirvana have neither yet cut off afflictions nor attained *dhyāna*. To focus the mind without becoming distracted and directly seeking nirvana, and thereby overcoming lust and the other various afflictions, is called nirvana" (T15.614.278b27-c3). Odani, however, seems to be reading too much into this passage, for the above passage is actually a quote from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* or *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (see T12.375.792c1-3). In fact, a better frame for understanding this passage may be the tension between meditation and liberating insight that caught the attention of La Vallée Poussin (1937).

In An Shigao's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* or *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T15.607) the attainment of calming (*zhi* 止) is curiously associated only with two of the so-called five gates, namely the contemplation on the impurity of the body and the mindful counting of breaths; T15.607.235c16-17. The bulk of the manual is, in fact, devoted to the former practice. An Shigao is also known to have translated other meditation manuals, some of which focus on the latter practice (e.g. T15.602). It should also be pointed out that the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* also mainly encourages these two practices as preparatory practices to the cultivation of the path proper; see La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: 916-925.

[57] For instance, see the instructions on the practice of the mindful counting of breaths in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T15.606.215c22-217a2). Given its sources, our manual is not so different from the *Damoduoluo chan jing* in that it partakes in the growing influence of the various systems of meditation developed among the Kashmiri Sarvāstivādins.

extracted not from a manual but from a scripture known as the *Chishi jing* 持世經 (Scripture on [the Questions of the Bodhisattva] Holding the World).[58]

In spite of such complicated conditions of its compilation, the manual seems to almost effortlessly weave these various techniques and teachings into a systematic map of the bodhisattva path. Following the opening verse attributed to Kumāralāta, the manual begins with the preparatory steps that one must take before actually partaking in seated meditation. One must, the manual tells us, first seek out a teacher who will ask of him or her to answer a series of important questions such as "have you upheld the precepts," "have you committed any serious crimes," and "which among the three poisons trouble you the most?"[59] The bulk of the manual, however, is devoted to answering the last of these three questions. For instance, for someone with too much greed (*tanyu* 貪欲) or lust (*yinyu* 婬欲), our manual, like many others, recommends the contemplation on the impurity or foulness of the body (*asubhabhāvanā* or *bujing guan* 不淨觀).[60] This practice, as is well known, largely entails the detailed visualization of the gross anatomical parts of a decomposing body and the consequent cutting off of all attachments to (and in some rare cases developing a deep aversion towards) sensual desires.[61] In addition, the manual also

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[58] The *Chishi jing* (T14.482 [cf. T14.481]) was also retranslated by Kumārajīva. As far as I can tell, there does not seem to be an explicit connection between the *Chishi jing* and our manual. It might even be the case that, as Ikeda Eijun suspects, the section on the bodhisattva's technique was composed by Kumārajīva himself; cited in Yamabe 1999: 80. See also Robinson 1978: 74.

[59] T15.614.270c28-271a8 passim.

[60] For canonical references in the Pāli canon, see Shaw 2006: 222. See also the *Visuddhimāgga*, esp. chapter VI; the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (cf. La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: 917-921); the *Shenguan jing* 身觀經 (T15.612.242b5); the *Chanfa yaojie* (T15.616.286b18); the *Siwei lueyaofa* 思惟略要法 (Abbreviated Essential Techniques for Contemplation; T15.617.298b18-299a2); the *Wumen chanjing yaoyongfa* 五門禪經要用法 (Essential Techniques of the Five Gates [from] Scriptures on Meditation; T15.619.325c15); the *Mohe zhiguan* (T46.1911.45b1-4) etc. For a discussion of this topic in English, see Bond 1980 and Shaw 2006: 101-108. See also the discussion in Minowa 2003: 189-191. In his influential article on mummification in China, Robert Sharf describes the medieval devotion to mummified bodies and thus exposes the shortcomings of taking this "canonical attitude" towards the body at face value; see Sharf 1995. See also Greene 2006.

recommends a practice known as white bone contemplation (*baigu guan* 白骨觀), which, as its name suggests, entails the visualization of the skull and other parts of the skeleton stripped of its impure covering (e.g. flesh).[62] If meditative absorption (S. *dhyāna*, C. *chanding* 禪定) is attained in the realm of form (S. *rūpadhātu*, C. *sejie* 色界) by cultivating these contemplations, then, according to the manual, one is to expect three effects: a sense of bliss and suppleness in the body, radiance emitted by the white bones, and quiescent stilling of the mind.[63] The manual also insists that one knows these effects for oneself (*zizhi* 自知) and does not see them elsewhere (i.e., acquire them vicariously).[64] (More on the significance of this idea of "knowing for oneself" later.)

Following this discussion on the antidote for lust, the manual goes on to prescribe antidotes for the other two poisons, namely hatred (*chehui* 瞋恚) and ignorance (*yuchi* 愚癡). What the manual recommends are "compassion *samādhi*" (*ci sanmei* 慈三昧) for the former and the analysis of the chain of dependent origination for the latter.[65] But

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[61] According to various scriptural sources, this practice is known to have caused so much grief and hatred towards the body that many were led to commit mass suicide as a consequence. See Wilson 1995: 41-42 and Wiltshire 1983: 129-130. Kenneth Zysk suggests that the Buddhists' intimate knowledge of human anatomy may be due to their roots in the ascetic movements in ancient India who incorporated the physicians that were rejected by brāhmaṇic orthodoxy, their careful attention to the body as a loci of meditation (directed by first hand observation and dissection), and their use of decomposing corpses to carry out such meditation. See Zysk 1991: 34-37.

[62] The manual also calls this practice the contemplation of purity (*guanjing* 觀淨) or pure contemplation (*jingguan* 淨觀), "for the bones are contemplated without the flesh 除肉觀骨故" (T15.614.272a27). See also Greene 2006: 22-23.

[63] 身體和悅柔軟輕便、白骨流光猶如白珂心得靜住; T15.614.272a20-29. On the radiance emitted from white bones, see also the *Wumen chanjing yaoyong fa*, T15.619.326c9-11 (cited in Yamabe 1999: 9). See also Greene 2006: 93-128.

[64] 如上三相皆自知之、他所不見 (T15.614.272a27-28).

[65] See T15.614.272b1-c9 and T15.614.272c10-273a11 respectively. The manual actually divides the chain of dependent origination into smaller units in accordance to the different capacities and levels of cultivation of the practitioner. The manual classifies the practitioner into the beginner (*chuxi xing* 初習行), the intermediate (*ixi xing* 已習行), and the expert (*jiuxi xing* 久習行); T15.614.272a8-9. The beginner is asked to contemplate in the following manner: "birth conditions old age and death, and ignorance conditions karmic conditions; think this way and do not allow external thoughts [to arise in the mind]" 生緣老死無明緣行如是思惟不令外念

there is more. To these three poisons, or what it calls the "gross maladies" (*cubing* 麤病), the manual also adds the "fine maladies" (*xibing* 細病) of excessive thought (*sijue* 思覺) and mutual assistance (*dengfen* 等分).[66] For these fine maladies, the manual recommends the practice of mindfully counting one's breath (*ānāpāṇasmṛti* or *nian shuxi* 念数息) and mindfully recollecting the Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti* or *nianfo* 念佛) respectively.[67] Both practices are quite well known and require little more explanation. As for the classification of the maladies into the gross and the fine, the manual gives us no indication that they are

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(T15.614.272c12-13). The intermediate is asked to contemplate, "karmic conditions condition consciousness, consciousness conditions name and form, name and form condition the six sense organs, the six sense organs condition contact, contact conditions feeling, feeling conditions lust, lust conditions craving, craving conditions existence; think this way and do not allow external thoughts [to arise in the mind]" 行縁識識縁名色、名色縁六入、六入縁觸、觸縁受、受縁愛、愛縁取、取縁有、如是思惟不令外念 (T15.614.272c14-16). The expert contemplates on the entire chain from ignorance to old age and death. See also the tripartite scheme mentioned in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (i.e., *ādikarmika*, *kṛtajaya*, and *atikrāntamanaskāra*) and the *Apitan xin lun* 阿毘曇心論 (T28.1550; i.e., *shiye* 始業, *yixixing* 已習行, *siwei yi du* 思惟已度); cited in Hurvitz 1978: 209.

[66] See T15.614.273b2. The manual further classifies excessive thought, of which there are ostensibly six types (i.e., greed, hatred, afflictions, familial relations, country, and immortality), into two categories, the gross and the fine; T15.614.273a26-29. The eradication of these thoughts is likened to the refinement of gold, which consists largely of two steps: the removal of coarse stones and pebbles, which is followed by the removal of fine stones and sand; T15.614.273a29-b2.

Mutual assistance (*sabhāga*) or *dengfen*, otherwise known as *tongfen* 同分, *zifen* 自分, or *youfen* 有分, refers to the action (*karma*) that is respectively carried out by the objects of consciousness, the faculties of consciousness (i.e., eyes, nose, ears etc.), and consciousness itself in the process of creating karma. The respective action of the eyes, for instance, is to perceive form and create corresponding karma. See La Vallée Poussin, 1988-1991: 108-111. For mindfulness exercises in the *dhyāna sūtra*s, see Delanu 1992.

[67] For beginners of the practice of being mindful of the Buddha, the manual literally recommends standing in front of an image the Buddha and carefully contemplating its various features 若初習行人、將至佛像所、或教令自往諦觀佛像相好; T15.614.276a9-10. A large body of literature is available on these two practices and I cannot do justice to these studies in the limited space of this chapter. It should be noted that the mindfulness of the buddha is not always counted in the list of the five contemplations for putting the mind to rest, and when it is counted as part of the list it seems to thereby replace another old practice known as *jie fenbie guan* 界分別觀 or *dhātuprabheda* ("analysis of elements"); see Demiéville 1954: 356-362 and Mochizuki 1933-1936: 1258-1259. The growing popularity of the practice of being mindful of the Buddha, as Stephen Beyer and others point out, seems to have less to do with Mahāyāna overwriting Hīnayāna than with "a wave of visionary theism sweeping over the whole of northern India, influencing Hindu contemplatives as well as the *yoga* masters of Kashmir" (Beyer 1977: 337); see also Yamabe 1999.

therefore to be cured in any sort of sequence. If anything, the aforementioned techniques seem to be equally efficient, preparatory exercises for achieving the same goal, namely the attainment of the enstatic state of one-pointedness of mind (*yixin* 一心) known as *samādhi*. These preparatory techniques are then followed or accompanied by, among other things, an explanation of the four *dhyāna*s, the four formless realms,[68] the four immeasurables,[69]

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[68] The manual simply calls these as a whole the "empty realms" (*kongchu* 空處). They are the realm of infinite space (*wuliang kong chu* 無量空處), infinite consciousness (*wuliang shi chu* 無量識處), nothingness (無所有處), and neither apperception nor non-apperception (*fei youxiang fei wuxiang chu* 非有想非無想處). See T15.614.278a16-25. Whether these realms are "authentic" teachings of the historical Buddha has been the subject of an ongoing debate. The focus of the debate naturally fell on the figures Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta ("Rāma's son") from whom the future Buddha is said to have learned of the states of "nothingness" and "neither apperception nor non-apperception" respectively. One of the most notable objections to this legend was made by André Bareau who had cast the historicity of this legend into doubt, and others such as Bronkhorst and Vetter have accepted his doubt as valid; see Bareau 1963: 13-27; Vetter 1988: xxii; and Bronkhorst 2000: 85-86. These claims have recently been taken to task by Alexander Wynne and Ghirgo Zafiropulo; see Wynne 2000: 9-44 (chapters 2 & 3) and Zafiropulo 1993: 24-25. However, noting the telling absence of a reference to the formless realms in the Pāli Vinaya's discussion of the *pārājika* offense of bragging about one's spiritual achievements and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*'s discussion of the various meditative realms, Zafiropulo continues to raise doubts concerning the authenticity of the realms as teachings of the historical Buddha; see Zafiropulo 1993: 58-67 passim.

[69] Although the manual does not refer to the practice by any name, the cultivation of expanding compassion (*ci* 慈), loving kindness (*fei* 悲), joy (*xi* 喜), and protection or equanimity (*hu* 護) to immeasurable number of living beings is clearly referring to the practices commonly known as the four immeasurables or immeasurable minds (*apramāna*, C. *wuliang xin* 無量心); see T15.614.278a28b3. See Lamotte 1949-1980: 1239-1273; Maitrimurti 1999; Gethin 1998: 186-187. Richard Gombrich argues that the immeasurables rose, couched in brahmanical terms, in response to ideals set forth in the *Upaniṣad*s and that their "obvious" relation to such brahmanic ideals—they were, after all, known as the *brahmavihāra*s—led to their eventual devaluation as viable means of seeking liberation among Buddhists; see Gombrich 1997: 59-63.

the five penetrations (*wutong* 五通),[70] and the four contemplations that bring thoughts to cessation (*sinian zhi guan* 四念止觀).[71]

Having laid out this elaborate meditative system, the manual then expounds upon the various levels of attainment beginning with the four "wholesome roots" (S. *kuśalamūla*, C. *shangen* 善根), namely heat (S. *uṣmagata*, C. *nuanfa* 煖法), summit(s) (S. *mūrdhan*, C. *dingfa* 頂法), endurance (S. *kṣānti*, C. *ren* 忍), and the highest worldly dharmas (S. *laukikāgra dharma*, C. *shijian diyi fa* 世間第一法).[72] This is followed by the

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[70] In most cases the five penetrations refer to the five supernatural powers that the practitioner attains in the course of cultivating *dhyāna*, namely the divine eye, divine ear, knowledge of previous lives, knowledge of others' minds, and the ability to do anything and go anywhere at will (but we should keep in mind that alternative lists of the five penetrations also exist.) See Sharf 2002: 220. Although the manual refers to five penetrations, it only speaks in detail of one, namely the ability to do anything and go anywhere at will. See T15.614.278b4-27.

[71] Otherwise known as the four stations of mindfulness (*sinian chu* 四念處). The four stations are the body (*shen* 身), sensation [of pain] (*tong* 痛), mind (*xin* 心), and dharmas (*fa* 法); see T15.614.278c6-279b17. (In alternative lists, the term *shou* 受, "feeling" is used instead of *tong*.) First, one is to contemplate on the body as suffering, impermanent, lacking a self, and impure 觀身種種多諸苦患、從因緣生故無常、種種惱故苦、身有三十六物故不淨 (T15.614.278c6-8). Then one is to see that attachment to the body is caused by the sensations of joy and pain, which are in actuality unobtainable (and hence a cause of suffering) 以愛樂痛故著此身、當觀樂痛實不可得 (T15.614.278c11-12). This is followed by the contemplation on the impermanence of the mind that cognizes such sensations as it is but the product of causes and conditions 是心無常從因緣生故 (T15.614.279a13). Finally, one must contemplate on to whom this mind belongs (hint: no one) 復次觀心為屬誰 (T15.614.279a1). For a discussion of these practices, see Lamotte 1949-1980: 1187-1212; Dayal 1999: 82-101; Hurvitz 1978; La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: 925-929; and Gethin 1992: 68. Note that these contemplations focus on impermanence, suffering, no self, and impurity and not impermanence, suffering, emptiness and no self (which are the four particular and general features or *svasāmānyalakṣaṇa* of all dharmas). In our manual we thus have two variant pericopes being employed simultaneously. A telling example can also be found in the *Dazhidu lun*: "QUESTION: As for the emptiness of the four abodes of recollection (*smṛtyupasthāna*), one should contemplate all dharmas as impermanent, suffering, empty, and without self. For what reason? One contemplates the body as impure, one contemplates feeling as suffering, one contemplates mind as impermanent, and one contemplates dharmas as without self" (T25.1509.287a6-8; trans. Robinson 1978: 273 n. 23).

[72] See T15.614.279b18-280a24. These attainments as well as the four stations of mindfulness are actually mentioned earlier in the manual's discussion of the practice of the mindful counting of breaths or *ānāpānasmṛti*; T15.614.275b15-19. This probably reflects the status that *ānāpānasmṛti* enjoyed as a popular and effective practice in its own right. In discussing *ānāpānasmṛti* an unnamed inquisitor is recorded as asking why, if all the other contemplative practice can also cut off excessive

attainment of undefiled wisdom (S. *anāsrava prajñā*, C. *wulou hui* 無漏慧), which marks the beginning of the vision of the four noble truths in their sixteen aspects or the "path of seeing the truths" (S. *darśanamārga*, C. *jiantidao* 見諦道). As the fruit of such effort one is said to attain the status of a stream-winner (*strotāpanna*), once-returner (*sakṛdāgāmin*), non-returner (*anāgāmin*), and arhat.[73]

As anyone familiar with earlier literature on Buddhist cosmology and meditation will be able to immediately point out, what the manual has laid out so far is a path that largely corresponds to that of Vasubandhu's influential treatise *Abhidharmakośabhāsya* and is in keeping with earlier Sarvāstivādin maps of the path.[74] As its title (*Pusa chanfa jing*) makes clear, however, the main concerns of the manual are the meditative techniques of a bodhisattva. Be that as it may, with the obvious exception of the vow to attain buddhahood and to save all living beings,[75] the bodhisattva's techniques turn out to be not so different from that of a śrāvaka after all. In reference to lust, for

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thought, *ānāpāṇasmṛti* is singled out as its antidote; T15.614.275a1-2. The manual replies that since the other contemplations are "loose" (*kuan* 寬) they are difficult to lose 餘觀法寬難失故, but the practice of counting breaths is quick and changes frequently 數息法急易轉故; T15.614.275a2-3.

[73] See T15.614. 280a25-280c24. According to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the sixteenth thought-moment, *mārge 'nvayajñāna* actually does not belong to the path of vision but marks the beginning of the path of cultivation (*bhāvanāmārga*) and the acquisition of the fruit of stream-winner. Having abandoned views (*dṛṣṭi*) through the path of vision, when one continues to practice the path of cultivation and abandons the nine categories of defilements (*kleśa*) that belong to each cosmic realm (i.e., the realm of desire, the four *dhyāna*s of the realm of form, and the four spheres in the formless realm) one then acquires the fruit of once-returner and non-returner. When the ninth category of the defilements that belongs to the highest sphere of the formless realm all defilements and cankers (*āsrava*) are destroyed. The practitioner thus enters adamantine concentration (*vajropamasamādhi*) and becomes an arhat.

[74] See La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: Vol. III, xiv-xxii and also Lamotte 1988: 614-626. A very accessible summary of this path can also be found in Gethin 1998: 194-198; Griffiths 1995: 54-60, Odani 2000: 128-137. An indispensable account of the appropriation of this path by Mahāyāna can be found in Étienne Lamotte's introduction to his translation of the *Dazhidu lun*'s discussion of the stage of bodhisatvahood (*bodhisattvaniyāma*); see Lamotte 1949-1980: 1783-1788.

[75] T15.614.281b10-15. The decision to strive for buddhahood is preceded by the contemplation on the bodies of all the buddhas through which the bodhisattva hopes to attain a *samādhi* called the "complete vision of all [buddhas] (*yiqie xijian sanmei* 一切悉見三昧); T15.614.281c29-b1. This *samādhi* is most likely referring to the *pratyutpanna samādhi*; see n. 81 below.

instance, the manual simply reiterates the importance of contemplating on the impurities of the body but also adds that the bodhisattva should not therefore come to espouse hatred towards the world.[76] In keeping with this pattern of appropriation, the manual similarly advocates the cultivation of compassion—or "great compassion" as it is renamed—for those bodhisattvas who harbor too much hatred while underscoring the importance of increasing this compassion until he or she can offer the bliss of the Buddha's Way and of nirvana to all people.[77] Needless to say, bodhisattvas with excessive thought are encouraged, like their śrāvaka counterparts, to mindfully observe their breath and thereby attain a one-pointedness of mind.[78] This, we are told, will also allow the bodhisattva to eradicate the five hindrances, namely sensual desire, hatred, torpor (accompanied by sleep), excitation (accompanied by worry), and doubt.[79] However, in order to tread the "path of seeing [the truths]" (*jiandao* 見道) the manual insists that the bodhisattva must also cultivate what it calls the three endurances (*sanren* 三忍).[80] By doing

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[76] 不為不淨觀所厭沒; T15.614.281c17-18. If one does give rise to compassion and care for living beings from this hatred of suffering then the empty bones on which one contemplated will take him afar from nirvana and enter the three evil destinies (i.e., hell beings, hungry ghosts, and animals) 若以厭患起大悲心愍念衆生、為此空骨遠離涅槃入三惡道; T15.614.281c22-24. Similar concerns are also raised in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: "Tell him about the impermanence of the body, but do not tell him to despise or turn away from the body. Tell him about the sufferings of the body, but do not tell him to strive for nirvana. Tell him that the body is without ego, but urge him to teach and guide living beings. Tell him of the emptiness of the body, but do not tell him of its final extinction" 説身無常不説厭離於身、説身有苦不説樂於涅槃、説身無我而説教導衆生、説身空寂不説畢竟寂滅 (T14.475.544c19- 544 c21; trans. Watson 1997: 67).

[77] 復次以佛道樂涅槃之樂與一切人、是名大慈; T15.614.282b10-11.

[78] T15.614.285a6-9.

[79] For the five *nīvaraṇa*s or *wugai* 五蓋 (lit. "five coverings"), see the explanation in the *Dazhidu lun* (T25.1509.183c21-185a20; cf. Lamotte 1949-1980: 1013-1020); and *Mohe zhiguan* (T46.1911.44c6-47a24). See also Gethin 1998: 180-181 and Shaw 2006: 39-58. Interestingly, in the *Chanfa yaojie* an unnamed inquisitor asks why, unlike the other hindrances, torpor (*shui* 睡) and excitation (*diao* 掉) do not act as hindrances by themselves and must be accompanied by sleep (*mian* 眠) and worry (*hui* 悔) respectively; T15.616.288a69. The manual tells us that torpor cannot "cover" the mind unless one falls asleep. Similarly, excitation cannot "cover" the mind unless it is followed by regret or worry.

so, the bodhisattva will, according to our manual, attain the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) and a meditative state known as *pratyutpanna samādhi* wherein the practitioner finds himself standing face-to-face with the buddhas of the present.[81]

As effortless as it may thus seem, the manual's attempt to appropriate these earlier techniques, as is the case with most eclectic systems, was not without its problems. Unlike lust, hatred, and excessive thought, for instance, the bodhisattva's battle with ignorance seems to have sparked some controversy. To have right view (*zhengjian* 正見), the manual claims, one must realize the chain of dependent origination with the knowledge of impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and no self.[82] But the compiler of our manual was clearly aware that there was more than one reading of what constitutes right view:

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[80] T15.614.285a9-b21. The bodhisattva must endure the dharmas that are born (S. *utpattikadharmakṣānti* [?], C. *fasheng ren* 法生忍), endure by amiably complying with [born] dharmas (S. *anulomikīdharmakṣānti*, C. *roushun fa ren* 柔順法忍), and enduring the fact that dharmas are unborn (S. *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*, C. *wusheng fa ren* 無生法忍). The last of these three endurances or forbearances is typically said to occur in the eighth or immovable (S. *acalā*, C. *budong* 不動) stage of the bodhisattva's career, which consists of ten stages in total; for instance, see the *Daśabhūmivyakhyāna* (T26.1522.179b-c passim). For these three endurances, see Mochizuki 1933-1936: 1656-1658. See also Gimello 1976a: 14 and Nattier 2003: 244 n. 240.

[81] This *samādhi* is explained in great detail in a text that bears its name, the *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 or *Pratyutpanna samādhi sūtra*. For this scripture, see Harrison 1990.

[82] See T15.614.283c6-8. "Impermanent, suffering, empty, and lacking a self" (*wuchang ku kong wuwo* 無常苦空無我) is a pericope that frequently appears in Buddhist scriptures such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*, *Nirvana sūtra*, and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. For instance, see *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* or *Da banruo poluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (T6.220.548a26, T7.220.362a9, 465a11, 599b27, 812c21); *Fangguang banruo jing* 放光般若經 (T8.221.2c16, 17c17, 75a13), *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (hereafter *Nirvana sūtra*; T12.374.366c17, 376c20, 448a4, 484b24, 484b26, 484b27, 484c7, 541c7, 582a20, 582a25, 582b3, 583a20, 583b10, 589a3, 591b3, 591b4). For Vimalakīrti's take on this pericope, see his conversation with Mahākātyāyana on the nature of dharmas (T14.475.541a15-22) and Mañjuśrī on the nature of the body (T14.475.544c18-25).

As a consequence of contemplating on the impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and no self one will, the *Zuochan sanmei jing* claims that one will realize the truth of suffering (*kudi* 苦諦), that is, the first of the so-called four noble truths (cf. T15.614.280a15-16). The manual, however, asks why, if there are four knowledges (i.e., impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and no self), the truth so attained bears the name of only one type of knowledge, namely suffering. We are told that only one was chosen in order to avoid redundancy and because, unlike the other types of knowledge, suffering is often shunned and feared; see T15.614.284a17-22.

Question: "According to the *Prajñāpāramitā* of the Mahāyāna, 'the various dharmas are unborn and do not perish; they are empty and without existence; [they bear but] the one mark of no mark—this is called right view.' Why do [you then] say that the contemplation of impermanence and so forth is called right view?"[83]

Reply: "If within the Mahāyāna it is said that all dharmas are empty and have no mark why would [you then] say that impermanence, suffering, emptiness and so forth is not true? If it is said that the unborn, un-perishable, and empty is the true mark then they must not be said to be of no mark. Your earlier words do not accord with the later ones. . . . All living beings see impermanence. Internally, there is old age, sickness, and death. Externally, they see the ten thousand things wither and fall. Why do [you then] say that impermanence is not true?"[84]

Question: "I did not say that permanence is true and impermanence is not true. I said neither permanence nor impermanence is true. Why? The Buddha said, 'within emptiness, permanence and impermanence, neither matter can be had. If one becomes attached to these two matters then they are both perverted.'"[85]

Reply: "Your words are not in accord with the Dharma. Why? [You] say that there are no dharmas and [then you also] say that the two [matters of permanence and impermanence] are both perverted. Everything is empty and without existence—this is true and not perverted. If I destroy permanence and

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[83] T15.614.283c11-13. An almost identical scriptural passage is quoted in the *Dazhidu lun*; see T25.1509.222b27-28. See also the *Za piyu jing* 雜譬喻經 (Scripture on Miscellaneous Similes); T4.207.526c8. Similar passages can also be found in various *Prajñāpāramitā* or Perfection of Wisdom and other related texts to refer to the bodhisattva's endurance of his or her knowledge that dharmas are un-originated.

[84] T15.614.283c13-20.

[85] T15.614.283c20-23. I have been unable to locate the source of these words attributed the Buddha. A similar statement is made, however, in the *Zhong lun*; see T15.1564.36a14-b16.

> become attached to impermanence then my dharma is not true and should be destroyed. I contemplate on impermanence to destroy the perverted [view] of permanence. Why? The power of impermanence can destroy permanence like poison can destroy other poisons. [This is also] like [using] medicine to eradicate illness and then also doing away with the medicine. [You] should know that [only when] the medicine is sublime can it eradicate illness.[86] If medicine is not done away with then later medicine becomes an illness. This is just the same. If one is attached to the dharma of impermanence then one must accordingly destroy the untrue."[87]

In this last reply we also learn that the four truths (*si zhendi* 四真諦) are true (*shi* 實) and cannot be perverted views (*viparyāsa*).[88] For assuming that there is nothing true, the unnamed inquisitor is even accused of being attached to the sounds of words without fully penetrating Mahāyāna doctrine.[89] This, we are told, is like someone who sees only the finger but not the moon—the finger is the condition for seeing the moon and not the moon itself.[90]

The above passage raises a number of important issues that are worth discussing to some detail, but given the restraint of space we need only mention a few here. Let us begin with the obvious. First, there is the familiar reference to the malady of emptiness (or, in this case, impermanence). This reference is worth noting mainly for two reasons: (1) no other manual of meditation to my knowledge contains such a reference, which makes our manual unique; (2) and this, notwithstanding, the fact that the malady of emptiness made its way into even one manual allows us to see that this malady was not the kind of theme that one could only expect to find in scriptures and treatises that sing of

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[86] 當知藥妙能除病故; my translation here is tentative.

[87] T15.614.283c23-29.

[88] T15.614.284a2-7.

[89] T15.614.284a6.

[90] T15.614.284a10-11.

emptiness. In addition, what we also find in the passage above is one of the earliest references to the famous metaphor of the finger pointing at the moon.[91] A reference to this metaphor in the *Zuochan sanmei jing* may tell us little, if anything, about its influence on later traditions, but it does allow us to reconsider the originality of Chan, with whom we often associate this metaphor, and Chan's oft-celebrated discontinuity with earlier Buddhism(s).

There are also some less obvious yet important points to be made. First, although the malady of emptiness appears in a manual designed specifically to address those maladies that are believed to hinder one's spiritual progress, there is clearly a gap that separates it from the rest. We need only consider, for instance, the fact that whereas the maladies of lust, hatred, ignorance are accompanied by a detailed explanation of their respective means of treatment, the malady of emptiness is not. Moreover, whereas the other maladies are explained in formal expository prose the malady of emptiness is discussed by means of a dialogue, which was a style of argumentation favored by philosophically inclined treatises such as the *Zhong lun*. Apparently, not all maladies are born the same. But how should we make sense of this disparity? Sengrui may have already provided us with an answer. The manual, we may recall, is a composite of a diverse range of texts, and the disparity that we are witnessing here may therefore reflect the wide range of genres and ideas on which the manual was based. In other words, although no less concrete and practical than the other maladies, the malady of emptiness seems to have emerged from a different literary genre, a genre whose main purpose was to elaborate upon fine points of doctrine and not so much the defects, hindrances, and maladies that disturb those engaged in meditation. This brings us to the last point I wish to make: we should not lose sight of the fact that a meditation manual was deemed to be as good an occasion as any for one to address not only specialized meditative techniques but also recondite, polemical disputes over the proper understanding of emptiness.

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[91] We also find a reference to this metaphor in the *Dazhidu lun*, the translation of which was completed in 405; see T25.1509.125b2-5, 726a3, and especially 375a23-28.

And a recondite issue the malady of emptiness was indeed. Consider, for instance, the correspondence between Kumārajīva and Huiyuan of Mt. Lu 廬山 on the existence of atoms preserved in the *Dasheng dayi zhang* 大乘大義章 (Great Ideas of the Mahāyāna), otherwise known as the *Jiumoluo shi fashi dayi* 鳩摩羅什法師大義 (Great Ideas of the Dharma Master Kumārajīva). According to this correspondence, Huiyuan is said to have once asked Kumārajīva for further clarification on the *Dazhidu lun*'s reference to the theory of atoms (S. *paramāṇu*, C. *jiwei* 極微) and the use of this theory to explain the concept of emptiness.[92] Huiyuan's question was rather simple: do atoms exist or not? Either way, as he hastens to point out, one is bound for heresy since their existence implies eternalism and their nonexistence, fairing no better, implies annihilationism. In reply, Kumārajīva first declares that the Buddha had never made any mention of such a thing and even if he had it was in name only, that is, only as a "provisional designation" (S. *prajñapti*, C. *jiaming* 假名). As an example, he cites the convention of referring to the combination of the five fingers as a "fist."[93] Kumārajīva also reminds Huiyuan that the atoms, like the self, are *inherently* nonexistent—even if one espouses this view of nonexistence one *ipso facto* does not fall into a view of annihilation. Finally, he informs Huiyuan that emptiness is "only asserted in order to demolish misconceptions of permanence."[94] As he explains:

> As for the not-existent-and-not-inexistent, if though existents and inexistents have been demolished people still figment fictions about the not-existent-and-not-inexistent, then the Buddha says "Abandoning the not-existent-and-not-inexistent is just like abandoning the existent-and-inexistent. Not apprehending and not craving the dharmas in my Buddha-dharma." It is like a man who treats a disease with medicine. If the

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[92] T45.1856.137b3-b14. For the passage from the *Dazhidu lun*, see T25.1509.147c-148a passim. The entire letter has been translated into English by Richard Robinson; see Robinson 1978: 191-195.

[93] The same analogy is made in the *Dazhidu lun*; T25.1509.746b20 and 746c12-18.

[94] Robinson 1978: 194.

medicine causes trouble, then one cures it with additional remedy. If this medicine gives no trouble, then one stops. In the Buddha-dharma, the medicine of prajñā is just like this. By this medicine one demolishes the objects of addictions. If people then acquire an addiction to prajñā, one must pursue a method of treatment. If there are no addictions to prajñā, then further treatment is not applied.[95]

Although I call this theory recondite, this is not to say that the theory of atoms was not, at one point, an important issue for those engaged in the intellectual pursuit of emptiness. In a conspicuous anecdote preserved in the biography of Buddhabhadra (359-429) from the *Gaoseng zhuan*, for instance, we find the very same issue being pursued by none other than Kumārajīva.[96] As he asked Buddhabhadra, "why are dharmas empty?"[97] Buddhabhadra replied that form (*se* 色) lacks self-nature (*zixing* 自性) or own being because it consists of many atoms. Therefore they are empty. If form is analytically divided this way, then how, Kumārajīva continued to ask, is one to further divide the atom itself? Buddhabhadra answered that, though others attempt to further divide the atom, he himself does not do so. But does this mean that the atoms are permanent? To this query, Buddhabhadra offered this rather abstruse reply: "because of one atom the myriad atoms are empty; because of the myriad atoms the one atom is empty."[98] Unfortunately, Buddhabhadra's reply, we are told, was lost in translation and was thus misunderstood as

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[95] Robinson 1978: 195. Robinson points out that the simile of the remedy that cures the remedy's defects also occurs in the *Zhong lun*, the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, and *Prasannapadā*; see Robinson 1978: 91.

[96] T50.2059.334b26-335c14.

[97] T50.2059.335a9-10.

[98] 以一微故衆微空以衆微故一微空 (T50.2059.335a13-14). Buddhabhadra's statement is similar to the claims about the interpenetration of all phenomena advanced by the medieval Huayan 華嚴 exegetes. This may be no accident as Buddhabhadra is attributed with the translation of the sixty-fascicle edition of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (T9.278), which served as the central scripture of early Huayan exegesis. See also the discussion of Huayan views concerning the relation between part and whole in Cook 1977: 75-89.

supporting the view that atoms are permanent.[99] (Could it be the case that Huiyuan was led to ask about the existence of atoms because he too misunderstood Buddhabhadra during the latter's brief visit to Mt. Lu?)[100]

Some preliminary conclusions are in order here. First, we have seen that the malady of emptiness—its cameo role in a manual of meditation notwithstanding—was first and foremost a matter of doctrine and internecine polemics. In other words, it seems to have been a metaphor favored by those Mahāyāna intellectuals who labored to critique the views of emptiness espoused by other Mahāyāna intellectuals. Or was it? Although speculation at best, we may do better to regard this polemical façade as being reflective not so much of a social conflict between two closely related schools (however we may wish to define school here), of which we have little evidence, as of a rhetorical strategy that was employed to leave one with the *impression* that a clear division between heresy and orthodoxy had indeed already taken shape with regards to *the* Mahāyāna understanding of emptiness. Historically authentic or not, as we shall see, it was only a matter of time before someone took this polemical façade seriously enough to make it a reality. But in doing so the malady of emptiness, I would suggest, was already more (or less) than what it "originally" was. In the same vein, I would also say that the "proper" context of the malady of emptiness was lost the moment it was found.

. . . And Then There was Chan

As the eminent Zen historian Yanagida Seizan points out in an article evocatively entitled "The Problem of the Malady of Emptiness" (*kūbyō no mondai* 空病の問題), there has been no shortage of critiques of the view of emptiness (*kūken hihan* 空見批判) since ancient times and the list of critiques only continued to grow with the development of Mahāyāna

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[99] See T50.2059.335a14-15.

[100] Buddhabhadra is said to have hung his staff at Mt. Lu where Huiyuan was in residence. Huiyuan is said to have requested the translation of a manual of meditation, and the manual he received was the *Damoduoluo chan jing*. See T50.2059.335b16.

Buddhism.[101] Early Chan and Zen, as he attempts to show, were no exceptions. In fact, Yanagida goes so far as to claim that a (special) kind of double negation (*isshu no nijū hitei* 一種の二重否定) that is implied in the critique of emptiness best characterizes the early Chan penchant for *prajñā*.[102] Quite telling in this respect, according to Yanagida, is a citation from the *Zhong lun* that we find in the so-called long scroll of Bodhidharma's *Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 (Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices).[103] Not surprisingly, what the *Erru sixing lun* cites is the aforementioned verse from the *Zhong lun* wherein those who cling to the view of emptiness are declared to be beyond salvation. That we find this citation at the beginning of the *Erru sixing lun*, as Yanagida notes, is not without significance.[104]

The story that Yanagida hopes to tell, however, has only just begun. In his article, Yanagida also devotes much attention to the maxim, "originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are *bodhi*" (*ben wu fannao yuan shi puti* 本無煩惱元是菩提), which he traces back to Guifeng Zonggmi's 圭峰宗密 (780-841) *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (Chart of Master-Disciple Succession of the Chan Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China; hereafter *Chan Chart*).[105] In the *Chan Chart*, this maxim appears below the name of the second patriarch

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[101] Yanagida 1982: 776.

[102] Yanagida 1982: 777.

[103] Yanagida 1982: 776. For the citation, see Yanagida 1969: 58; and also Broughton 1999: 14. For studies on this important text, see Tanaka 1965; Yanagida 1969; McRae 1986: 100-117; Broughton 1999. Scholarly opinion remains divided as to whether this text can be safely attributed to the semi-legendary Bodhidharma.

[104] As Yanagida also points out, the same citation is also found in Jizang's 吉藏 (549-623) *San lun xuanyi* 三論玄義 (Dark Purport of the Three Treatises; T45.1852.7a13); Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* (T45.1911.38c28, 41a14, 56a20); and Chengguan's 澄觀 (738-839) *Huayan jing shu yanyichao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (Expository Notes on the Commentary to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*; T36.1736.7a6, 43c5, 166b18, 269b24, 285c1, 291c29, 544a8, 611c27). See Yanagida 1982: 776. Kamata Shigeo has raised questions concerning the date of Chengguan's death and suggests instead the year 820; see Ishii 1992: 321-322 n. 185 and Kamata 1965: 167-168.

Huike 慧可 along with the words "received [Bodhidharma's] marrow" (*desui* 得髓).[106] But Huike was not alone in this regard. His name is accompanied by two others, Daoyu 道育 and nun Congzhi 尼總持. Under Daoyu we find the words, "received his bones (*degu* 得骨) and below that we find, "delusion is affliction; awakening is *bodhi*" (*mi ji fannao wu ji puti* 迷即煩惱悟即菩提). Similarly, under nun Congzhi we find the words, "received his flesh" (*derou* 得肉), and below that, "eradicate afflictions and attain *bodhi*" (*duan fannao de puti* 斷煩惱得菩提). Presumably, what the *Chan Chart* is telling us here is that the three disciples were able to each grasp a different aspect of the teachings of Bodhidharma, and these different aspects are encapsulated in the pithy statements that are recorded under their names.[107]

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[105] Yanagida 1982: 778. For the *Chan Chart*, see ZZ 110.433c-438b; Kamata 1971: 265-347. Given the flaws of the *Zokuzōkyō* edition, I will cite Kamata Shigeo's readily accessible critical edition of the *Chan Chart*. The full text of the *Chan Chart* can also be found in a larger collection (dated 1241) known as the *Pei Xiu shiyi wen* 裴休拾遺問 (The Reminder Pei Xiu's Questions), which was recently discovered at the Japanese temple Shinpukuji 真福寺. The *Pei Xiu shiyi wen* and other texts are known to have originally belonged to another collection known as the *Taosu chouda wenji* 道俗酬答文集 (Collection of Texts Concerning the Questions and Answers of Lay Disciples). A readily accessible transcribed copy of the Shinpukuji edition of the *Pei Xiu shiyi wen* can be found in Ishii 1981. A translation of this text can be found in Ishii 1992: 41-90. For a useful overview of the various editions of the *Chan Chart*, see Gregory 1991: 15 n. 28, 318-319.

[106] See Kamata 1971: 289; cf. Ishii 1992: 53-54, 305 n. 83 and 85.

[107] To date, the best study on the story of Bodhidharma's transmission of his flesh, bone, and marrow is that of Ishii Shūdō (1987), which builds upon his earlier work (Ishii 1982c and 1984c); see also Yanagida 1990: 370 n. 168. Although it had been well established by Yamaguchi Shindai and others that similar accounts of this story appear in sources such as the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma Jewel Through the Ages), *Baolin zhuan* 法林傳 (Dharma Grove Biographies), *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Patriarch's Hall Anthology), *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp) and other related texts, few (with the exception of Yanagida) had shown any interest in trying to make sense of the significant differences between these sources in their retelling of the above story; see Ishii 1987: 106-107 (for references to the flesh, bone, and marrow story in the above sources, see T51.2075.181a6-8; Yanagida 1975: 144; ZTJ 1/73/14-1/74/2; and T51.2076.219b29-c5 respectively). As Ishii points out, Zongmi referred only to the transmission of Bodhidharma's flesh, bone, and marrow and did not, as in the case of the *Baolin zhuan* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, refer to Bodhidharma's transmission of either his blood (*xue* 血) or his skin (*pi* 皮) to a certain Toufu 頭副 or Daofu 道副 in addition to his flesh, bone, and marrow. In fact, the eminent Chan monk and historian Mingjiao Qisong 明教契嵩 (1007-1072) had already traced this version of the story back to the *Dazhidu lun* (T25.1509.164b-); cited in Ishii 1987: 108. Or, as Ishii also points out, it could have come from a passage from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*

sūtra (T12.374.469b-; cf. T2.99.234a-). Either way, Ishii contends that the version that Zongmi used to reconstruct the story of Bodhidharma's transmission had to have been the one recorded in the *Lidai fabaoji*; see Ishii 1987: 109 (cf. Foulk 1999: 236). Citing an earlier observation made by Yanagida, Ishii also contends that Zongmi himself had fabricated the pithy statements attributed to Huike, Daoyu, and Congzhi out of another well-known maxim ("afflictions are themselves bodhi" 煩惱即菩提) that he found in the biography of Bodhidharmatrāta recorded in the *Lidai fabao ji*; see Ishii 1987: 109.

Following a suggestion made earlier by Yanagida (1984b), Ishii makes the bold but convincing claim that the *Jingde chuandeng lu* version of the story was constructed in response to a dispute between the Tiantai master Siming Zhili 四明智禮 (960-1028) and the Fayan Chan master Tiantong Ziying 天童子凝 (n.d.); see Ishii 1987: 114-117 (Ziporyn 1994, Huang 1999, and Foulk1999: 248-252). In 1004, the same year in which the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was compiled, Zhili composed the *Shi puer men zhiyao chao* 十不二門指要鈔 (Exposition of the Essentials of the Ten Gates of Nonduality) as a polemic against those in his own Tiantai tradition who had incorporated Huayan and Chan teachings, most notably Zongmi's, into their exposition of doctrine. In this work, Zhili specifically uses the story of Bodhidharma's transmission of flesh, bone, and marrow to make the claim that Huike's statement ("originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi") does not accord with the teachings of Tiantai. In 1023, Ziying sent his first letter of criticism to Zhili. Citing not Zongmi but the newly compiled *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Ziying defended Chan by criticizing Zhili for relying on nothing but a "rumor" (*zhuanwen* 傳聞) and maintained that Huike had never made such a statement. (Indeed, according to the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Huike is said to have simply made three prostrations and returned to his seat.) In his *Siming zunzhe jiaoxing lu* 四明尊者教經録 (Record of the Teachings of the Honorable Siming), Zhili responded by noting the reference to the story in the *Guifeng houji* 圭峰後集 (Supplementary Collection of Guifeng), which, as Robert Buswell notes, was an alternative title for the aforementioned *Taosu chouda wenji* and thus the *Pei Xiu shiyi wen* (see n. 104 above); see Buswell 1983: 379-380. Eventually, however, Zhili seems to have accepted Ziying's criticism; see Foulk 1999: 251-252. Ishii believes that the story of Bodhidharma's transmission of his skin, flesh, bones, and marrow was added later to the *Jingde chuandeng lu* in response to the publication of Zhili's work. This, he also claims, marks the transition from the trend to "unite of the teachings and Chan" (*jiaochan yizhi* 教禪一致) advocated by Zongmi and the editor of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Daoyuan 道原 (d.u.), to that of advocating "a separate transmission beyond the teachings" (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳); for the inclusion of the latter in the famous four-part slogan of Chan during the Song and the implications of this inclusion, see Foulk 1999 and Welter 2000. Ishii himself seems to remain uncertain as to whether this transition was made by the Song literatus Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020), who in 1009 redacted Daoyuan's text originally entitled *Fozu tongcan ji* 佛祖同參集 (Collection of the Common Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs), or by Daoyuan himself; see Ishii 1987: 118 (cf. Welter 2000: 91-94). It should be point out, however, that this transition had already been taking place before the appearance of Zhili's work. As Yanagida points out, the phrase, "a separate transmission beyond the teachings," had appeared as early as the tenth century in texts such as the *Baolin zhuan*, and Zongmi's tireless efforts to unite Chan and the teachings seem to portend the eventual victory of this phrase; see Yanagida 1967: 472-473 (cited in Foulk 1999: 240). For the history of the compilation and publication of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* in English, see Welter 2006: 116-118.

What caught Yanagida's attention, however, is not so much the difference between these statements as the intricate relation that they seem to bear.[108] In Yanagida's eyes Huike's statement looks as if it were a direct critique of Daoyu's and Daoyu's, in turn, a direct critique of Congzhi's.[109] Concomitantly, Yanagida justly contends that Huike's statement is meaningless by itself. But this seems to be exactly how the statement was appropriated by an early branch of Chan known as the Darumashū 達磨宗.[110] Quoted out of context, Huike's statement could readily lend itself to an antinomian reading, and this is indeed what the Darumashū seem to have espoused.[111] According to Eisai's 栄西 (aka Yōsai, 1141-1215) *Kōzen gokokuron* 興禪護國論 (Propagation of Zen for the Protection of the State; compiled in 1198), the Darumashū did in fact accept Huike's statement as their basic tenet and accordingly advanced the claim that "moral precepts and monastic rituals are of no use."[112] In making this claim, however, the Darumashū posed a threat to the established order of Enryakuji 延暦寺 on Mt. Hiei 比叡 who in turn pressured the court into making sure that the Darumashū would no longer pose such a threat.[113] Accordingly,

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[108] Also worth noting here is Siming Zhili's understanding of the pithy statements (see above). He states: "[Zongmi] demonstrated that the opinions of these three people are intimate and distant" 示三人見解親疎 (T46.1937.895a5); trans. Buswell 1983: 380.

[109] Yanagida 1982: 778-779.

[110] Huike's maxim is quoted, for instance, in a Darumashū tract known as the *Hōmon taikō* 法門大綱; see Faure 1987: 44 and Yanagida 1982: 782. In this text, Daoyu and Congzhi are also quoted as well.

[111] Yanagida 1982: 772.

[112] Ichikawa 1972: 41; trans. Bodiford 2001: 315. Eisai criticizes the doctrinal stance of the Darumashū as a perfect instance of a "view of emptiness" and, not surprisingly, quotes the passage from the *Ratnakūṭa* (mistakenly attributed to the *Ratnamegha* or *Baoyun jing* 寶雲經) that we examined earlier in support of his criticisms; see Ichikawa 1972: 41-42.

[113] For Enryakuji's complex relations to the capital and court and its semi-independent status as a ruling elite in medieval Japan, see Adolphson 2000. Eventually the Zen school began to spread rapidly in the capital under bakufu and imperial support in the fourteenth century and some of its temples came to form the Gozan system. For Enryakuji's growing tensions with the Zen school during this period, see Adolphson 1997. The move to study temple-shrine complexes like

the Darumashū was banned from spreading Zen in Japan by the civil authorities in 1194, only five years after its putative founder Dainichi Nōnin 大日能忍 received official sanction of his awakening from Chan master Zhuoan Deguang 拙庵徳光 (1121-1203), a prominent Chan master in the lineage of Dahui.[114] For promoting Zen, which for all intents and purposes had become synonymous with the Darumashū, Eisai had also become subject to the ban. The purpose of the *Kōzen gogokuron* was thus twofold. One the one hand, Eisai hoped to distinguish his own Zen from that of the heretical Darumashū and, at the same time, he also attempted to firmly establish himself as a member of the Tendai tradition.[115] As Yanagida notes, this is already quite evident in the title of the *Kōzen gokokuron.* When Eisai speaks of the "protection of the state" he does so not so much as a sign of nationalism, which is how it has often been construed, as a means to show his allegiance to Tendai, whose name would have been the first to come to mind when one spoke of protecting the state (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家).[116]

Having thus laid out the historical context of Eisai's critique of the Darumashū, Yanagida makes a small but critical observation that strikes at the heart of the present study: from the perspective of Zen doctrine, there seems to be nothing wrong with what the Darumashū said.[117] Take, for instance, their central tenet, "originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are *bodhi.*" As we may recall, it was none other than the second patriarch of Chan, Huike, who spoke these very words, and for doing so he

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Enryakuji as forming, along with the bakufu and court, a *kenmon taisei* 権門体制 (a system of ruling elites) was first made by Kuroda Toshio; see Kuroda 1975, 1990, 1994, and 1996.

The Darumashū's antinomianism seems to have posed such a big threat to Enryakuji in part because the Tendai doctrine of original enlightenment (*hongaku* 本覺) had similar implications. The Tendai were well aware of this antinomian potential, which they kept in check by transmitting the doctrine of original enlightenment secretly; see Stone 1999.

[114] Faure 1987: 27-28 and Yanagida 1982: 767-768.

[115] See Yanagida 1982: 758, 762-763. See also Faure 1987: 39.

[116] See Yanagida 1982: 757-758. I will not pursue the historical impact of the Darumashū any further here as this oft-neglected branch of Zen has already been well studied by Carl Bielefeldt, Bernard Faure, and others.

[117] Yanagida 1982: 773.

received nothing short of the essence of Bodhidharma—his marrow. In fact, similar claims about the relation between afflictions and awakening (*bodhi*) and the necessity of upholding the precepts and rituals, as Yanagida points out, are ubiquitous among early Chan texts. As an illustrative example, Yanagida refers us to the *Jueguan lun* 絶觀論 (Treatise on the Cessation of Consciousness), a text that he also believes to have had a considerable amount of influence on Tendai.[118] However, regarding the relation between afflictions and awakening, no text, as he also rightly claims, exerted more influence on early Chan than the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Particularly important in this respect is a line from the "disciples chapter" (*dizi pin* 弟子品) wherein Vimalakīrti critiques the famed disciple Śāriputra for his shallow understanding of the practice of calm sitting (*yanzuo* 宴坐) and offers this new definition: "without cutting off afflictions and entering nirvana—this is quiet sitting."[119]

Like the story of Huike, Daoyu, and Congzhi, Yanagida believes that Vimalakīrti's definition of calm sitting functions less as a self-contained idea than as the negation of an earlier, well-accepted sense of negation, namely "cut off afflictions and attain *bodhi*." Without this sense of "reflexive negation" (*zentai hitei* 全体否定), Yanagida maintains that it is difficult to properly discern the significance of Vimalakīrti's redefinition of quiet sitting. This reflexive negation, he also claims, is that to which Vimalakīrti was referring when he proclaimed, "the illness of emptiness is also empty."[120]

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[118] Yanagida 1982: 774. For an English translation of the passage from the *Jueguan lun* cited by Yanagida, see Tokiwa and Yanagida 1973: 8-12. The passage in question touches upon various things including the enlightenment of grass and trees, which I will discuss to some extent later. For a critical edition of the original text, one may either consult Tokiwa and Yanagida 1973: 87-102; or Yanagida 1970 (reprinted in Yanagida 1999: 77-133). Although the *Jueguan lun* is traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma, Sekiguchi Shindai, Yanagida and others have raised doubts about this attribution and the scholarly consensus now is that the *Jueguan lun* was composed by Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594-657) or a later member of his "school." For more information regarding the *Jueguan lun* and the Niutou school, see McRae 1983 and Sharf 39-47 passim. For Farong, see Dalia 1985.

[119] 不斷煩惱而入涅槃是為宴坐 (T14.475.539c25). See Yanagida 1982: 783-784.

[120] Yanagida 1982: 784.

In support of this reading, Yanagida turns to the writings of the evangelist Shenhui 神會 (684-758), and that is where we shall also turn next.

No Thought as Malady

In his so-called "platform sermon" (*tanyu* 壇語) discovered at Dunhuang,[121] Shenhui attempts to explain the phrase, "afflictions are themselves *bodhi*" (*fannao ji puti* 煩惱即菩提), with the help of the metaphor of the empty sky (*xukong* 虛空). In the empty sky, he tells us, there is neither movement nor quietude yet morning comes and we thus have a morning sky; and evening comes and we thus have an evening sky. Similarly, although we can, like morning and evening, make a distinction between delusion and enlightenment, there is, like the empty sky, essentially no change in the nature of *bodhi*.[122] This is, he claims, what is meant by "afflictions are themselves *bodhi*."

In this same sermon, Shenhui also speaks of becoming attached to, or literally making the mind "abide in" (*zhu* 住), nirvana, purity, emptiness, and concentration (*ding* 定).[123] Unlike "coarse delusions" (*cuwang* 麤妄) such as the lust for wealth and sex, these "fine delusions" (*xiwang* 細妄), he tells us, are manifestations of a deluded mind that is bound ironically to the Dharma. In support of this claim, he cites a passage from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: "What is the source of illness? It is to have troublesome entanglements. . . . And how does one cut off troublesome entanglements? By means of non-attainment."[124] And by non-attainment Vimalakīrti means to not have dualistic

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[121] The full title of this sermon is *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhi liaoxing tanyu* 南陽和尚頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語 (Platform Sermon by the Reverend Nanyang on Directly Comprehending Nature According to the Chan Doctrine of the Sudden Teaching and Liberation). Several copies of this text were found at Dunhuang: Peking *han* 81, P2045, S2492, S6977. For references, see McRae 1987: 263-264, n. 27. A somewhat useful English translation of this text can be found in Liebenthal 1952 and a far more accessible and reliable partial translation prepared by John McRae can be found in Lopez 2004: 506-511.

[122] See Hu 1968: 244 and Yanagida 1982: 784.

[123] Hu 1968: 234-235.

views.[125] In speaking of these fine delusions Shenhui also cites a short passage from the *Jingang banruo polomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (Scripture of the Perfection of Adamantine Wisdom; hereafter *Diamond Sutra*).[126] In the *Diamond Sutra*, the Buddha informs his disciple Subhuti, "If a bodhisattva has the mark of self, the mark of person, the mark of sentient beings, and the mark of life, then he is not a bodhisattva."[127] Regardless of

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[124] Hu 1968: 235. 何謂病本謂有攀緣、云何斷攀緣以無所得 (T14.475.545a18-20); cf. Watson 1997: 69.

[125] T14.475.545a20-21; cf. Watson 1997: 69.

[126] Hu 1968: 235.

[127] 若菩薩有我相人相衆生相壽者相即非菩薩 (T8.235.749a10-11). We also find a discussion of the mark of self, person, sentient beings and life in the apocryphal scripture *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (The Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment), otherwise known as the *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經 (Scripture that Expounds upon the Meaning of the Great, Complete, Vast, and Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra). The *Yuanjue jing*—a text that bears an unusually close relation to the burgeoning Chan tradition—is one of the earliest texts to refer explicitly to the "malady of meditation" (*chanbing* 禪病); See T17.842.920a27; cf. Muller 1999: 218. By malady of meditation, the *Yuanjue jing* means four different but related things: The mark of self (*woxiang* 我相), the mark of person (*renxiang* 人相), the mark of sentient beings (*zhongshengxiang* 衆生相), and the mark of life (*shoumingxiang* 壽命相). The *Yuanjue jing*'s discussion of these four marks appears to largely function as an exegesis of the related passage from the *Diamond Sutra*.

According to the *Yuanjue jing*, when we "bear witness to" (*zheng* 證) something, be it one's own frail body or nirvana, what we are actually witnessing is the self or its mark (*lakṣaṇa*). The act of "witnessing," in fact, is what leaves us with the false impression of an enduring self-essence (*woti* 我體). The scripture thus likens a person who misleadingly regards the mark of self to be nirvana to "a man who mistakes a thief for his son" 譬如有人以賊為子 (T17.842.919c21). Once we become aware of the workings of the mark of the self, however, we "no longer recognize the self" (*fufu ren wo* 不復認我), and this "awakening to non-self" (*wu fei wo* 悟非我), the scripture tells us, is the mark of person. Even if we are eventually able to recognize this awakening to non-self as the mark of person and attempt to go beyond it, this again is nothing but the mark of sentient beings. To become aware of the fact that *all* objects of "cognition" (*jue* 覺) are actually defilements is the mark of life. For, "the mind that produces something separate to be sought" (*suo qiu bieshengxin* 所求別生心) is not the mind but our karmic consciousness (*yezhi* 業智) (T17.842.920a24. Cf. Muller 1999: 216). Needless to say, those who fail to understand these four marks and attempt to cultivate the Way suffer from the corresponding malady of mediation. In deciphering this passage from the *Yuanjue jing*, I have opted to follow the reading provided by the Korean exegete Kihwa 己和 (1376-1433). See Muller 1999: 206-210.

In addition to the maladies of meditation, the *Yuanjue jing* also mentions what it calls "the four maladies" (*sibing* 四病). These are the malady of intentional action (*zuobing* 作病), the naturalist malady (*renbing* 任病), the cessation malady (*zhibing* 止病), and the annihilation malady (*miebing* 滅病); see T17.842.920b19-920c3; cf. Muller 1999: 222-223. The first three maladies

whether one tries to obtain the mark of Dharma (*faxiang* 法相) or the mark of non-Dharma (*feifaxiang* 非法相), says the Buddha, he or she will become attached to self, person, sentient beings, and life and must therefore not attempt to obtain the Dharma.[128] In effect, as Shenhui tells his audience, abiding in the Dharma is attachment-qua-abiding (*zhuzhuo* 住著) and therefore not liberation.[129] To drive his message home, Shenhui then cites another familiar passage from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: "[Once one has acquired this kind of equal outlook], one will be freed of all other illness and will only have the illness of emptiness, and the illness of emptiness too is empty."[130] Having made these claims, Shenhui adds a word of caution: even if we do carelessly give rise to such fine delusions, we should not try to bring the mind back into restraint (*she* 攝). Why? Because, according to Shenhui, "if letting the mind go is an illness, then bringing it back to restraint is also an illness; both letting it go and bringing it back are illnesses."[131]

Shenhui's critique of abiding in purity was more than just a warning about the dangers of the malady of emptiness to those awaiting ordination (Shenhui's sermon was delivered from an ordination platform). As Yanagida points out, it was also meant to serve as a polemical attack on the teachings of the eminent monk Shenxiu 神秀 (606?-706) and his so-called Northern school followers.[132] More intriguing than this well-established fact, perhaps, is a comment that Yanagida makes with regards to Shenhui's apophatic rhetoric:

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represent false assumptions about the means to attain perfect enlightenment, which (as the name of the corresponding malady implies) cannot be attained by means of intentional actions or, conversely, not doing anything at all. Nor can it be attained by means of the cessation of all thought. The last malady, in contrast, represents false assumptions about the content of perfect enlightenment, which is neither serene, empty, nor non-existent.

128 是諸衆生若心取相則為著我人衆生壽者、若取法相即著我人衆生壽者、若取非法相即著我人衆生壽者、是故不應取法; T8.235.749b6-9

129 Hu 1968: 235.

130 Hu 1968: 236.

131 去心既是病, 攝來還是病 (Hu 1968: 249); cited in Bielefeldt 1988: 93.

132 Yanagida 1982: 786. That Shenhui does not present an accurate portrayal of the Northern school teachings has been already shown by Robert Zeuschner; see Zeuschner 1997. For the standard work on the history and doctrine of the Northern School in English, see McRae 1986.

in criticizing those who abide in purity and emptiness Shenhui may have fallen into the same conceptual rut (i.e., emptiness) himself![133] What does Yanagida mean? Let us delve a bit further into this issue by using the notion of seated meditation as an example. Throughout Shenhui's writings, we find the following stereotyped description of his opponents' teaching of seated meditation: "freeze the mind in order to enter concentration, fix the mind in order to contemplate purity, arouse the mind in order to illuminate externally, and restrain the mind in order to experience it internally."[134] This form of seated meditation, says Shenhui, obstructs *bodhi*.[135] When pushed to articulate his own definition of seated meditation, Shenhui articulates it clearly: "When we now speak of sitting, we take the non-arousal of thought as sitting; when we now speak of meditation, we take seeing into the original nature as meditation."[136] Key here is the distinction between freezing the mind, which Shenhui likens to "falling into blank emptiness" (*duo wujikong* 墮無記空),[137] and not arousing thought,[138] as neither Shenhui nor his opponent

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[133] Yanagida 1982: 786.

[134] 凝心入定, 住心看淨, 起心外照, 攝心內證 (Hu 1968: 133-134, 239-240, 285, 287); trans. Gómez 1987: 81 (with some minor changes); cf. Lopez 2004: 510.

[135] 此是菩提障; Hu 1968: 288.

[136]今言坐者, 念不起為坐. 今言禪者, 見本性為禪 (Hu 1968: 288). An almost identical definition of seated meditation can be found in the *Platform Sūtra*; see Yampolsky 1967: 140.

[137] Hu 1968: 239; cf. Lopez 2004: 509. The *Platform Sūtra* also warns against sitting with an empty mind (*mo kongxin zuo* 莫空心坐) lest one fall into blank emptiness (*luo wujikong* 落無記空); see Yampolsky 1967: 146 (and p. 11 of the appended Chinese text). In the *Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論 (Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind), blankness (S. *avyākṛta*, C. *wuji*) of mind is described as follows: "People who practice mental concentration may inhibit the True Mind within themselves by being dependent on sensory perceptions, coarse states of mind, and restricted breathing. Before achieving mental purity, [such people may undertake the] constant practices of concentrating the mind and viewing the mind. Although they do so during all their activities, [such people] cannot achieve [mental] clarity and purity, nor illumine that mind which is the sources of all dharmas. This is called blankness [of mind]" (McRae 1986: 128).

[138] This idea is not unique to Shenhui. It also appears, for instance, in the early Chan texts, *Xiuxin yaolun* and *Rudao anxin yao fangbian famen* 入道安心要方便法門 (Essentials of the Teachings of the Expedient Means of Entering the Path and Pacifying the Mind); see McRae 1986: 123 and 141

seem to be in disagreement on the fact that our original nature is inherently empty, serene, and pure.[139]

A conversation between Shenhui and a certain dharma master Cheng 澄 (presumably from the Northern school) is particularly useful in making sense of Shenhui's critique of seated meditation.[140] In this conversation, Shenhui asks the master about the means to see into one's own nature (*jianxing* 見性). The master replies that one must "sit and cultivate concentration" (*zuo xiuding* 坐修定).[141] Shenhui is unconvinced and points out that concentration necessarily involves the artificial construction of intention (S. *manasikāra*, C. *zuoyi* 作意), which in his opinion would hinder one's efforts to see into his own nature.[142] The master concedes this point. Shenhui delivers another potentially crippling blow to the master: since it is the deluded mind that cultivates concentration, how could this lead to true concentration? The master replies that concentration involves both internal and external illumination. This allows us to see purity and the purity of

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respectively. The idea of not arising thought and maintaining no thought was also singled out by Śubhākarasiṁha (and attributed to the Northern School adept Jingxian 敬賢 [660-723]!) in the *Wuwei sanzang shoujie chanhui wen ji chanmen yaofa* 無畏三藏受戒懺悔文及禪門要法 (Tripiṭaka Śubhākarasiṁha's Text on Receiving Precepts and Repentance with [his] Essential Techniques of Meditation); see T18.917.945a (cited and translated in McRae 1986: 344 n. 340). For Jingxian, see McRae 1986: 63-64. The encounter between Śubhākarasiṁha and Jingxian took place sometime between 716-723.

[139] For instance, see Shenhui's definition of wisdom in his platform sermon: "To activate knowing on the basis of this empty and serene essence and to well discriminate blue, yellow, red and white of this world is wisdom" (Hu 1968: 239); trans. Lopez 2004: 509. As he continues, "To not activate [the mind] in consequence of this discrimination is concentration" (ibid.).

[140] The following is a summary of Hu 1968: 116-117. For a reliable English translation of this passage, see Gómez 1987: 80.

[141] Hu 1968: 117.

[142] Shenhui is also cautious not to simply denounce artificial construction of intention. In another fragment of his teachings found at Dunhuang, Shenhui (following the rhetorical trail left by Vimalakīrti) is also recorded as having said that the absence of intention makes one a deaf fool, while its presence implies that there is something to be attained (*yousuode* 有所得) and therefore constitutes a bondage for the practitioner. Like Vimalakīrti, Shenhui also notes that "śrāvakas cultivate emptiness and reside in emptiness, so they are bound by this emptiness" 聲聞修空住空被空縛. The same goes for their cultivation of concentration and quietude. See Hu 1968: 118.

mind, in turn, allows us to see our own nature. Shenhui then points out the obvious—the dualism of internal and external is the product of a deluded mind.[143] Our original nature is neither internal nor external. Moreover, cultivating *samādhi* (by which Shenhui seems to mean concentration) is movement, but in seated meditation "the mind goes with the flow of external objects" (*xin sui jingjie liu* 心隨境界流) and not, as Master Cheng seems to imply, away from or towards them.[144] If this were not the case, Shenhui tells master Cheng, then Vimalakīrti would not have upbraided Śāriputra for his practice of calm sitting. An almost identical claim, I might add, is also made in the *Platform Sūtra*:[145]

> The deluded man clings to the characteristics of things, adheres to the *samādhi* of oneness, [thinks] that straightforward mind is sitting without moving and casting aside delusion without letting things arise in the mind. This he considers to be the *samādhi* of oneness. This kind of practice is the same as insentiency and the cause of an obstruction to the Dao. Dao must be something that circulates freely; why should he impede it? If the mind does not abide in things the dao circulates freely; if the mind abides in things, it become entangled. If sitting in meditation without moving is good, why did Vimalakīrti scold Śāriputra for sitting in meditation in the forest?[146]

Also consider, for instance, the following exchange from the *Erru sixing lun* between an unidentified monk and a master by the name of Yuan 緣 (Conditionality):

> Question: "What is a demon mind?" Answer: "Closing the eyes [in the cross-legged sitting posture] and entering *samādhi*." Question: "[What if] I gather the mind into *dhyāna* so that it does not move?" Answer: "This is

[143] Shenhui is most likely paraphrasing Vimalakīrti here: "Your mind is not fixed on internal things and yet not engaged with externals either—this is quiet sitting" 心不住内不在外是為宴坐 (T14.475.539c23); trans. Watson 1997: 37.

[144] Hu 1968: 117.

[145] This has been pointed out by Philip Yampolsky; see Yampolsky 1967: 137 n. 64.

[146] Yampolsky 1967: 136-137.

bondage *samādhi*" [*ci shi fuding* 此是縛定]. It is useless. This holds even for the four *dhyānas*, each of which is merely one stage of quiescence from which you will return to disturbance again. They are not to be valued. These are created dharmas [*zuofa* 作法], dharmas that will be destroyed again, not ultimate Dharma. If you can understand that intrinsically there is neither quiescence nor disturbance, then you will be free [*zizai* 自在]. The one who is not restrained by quiescence and disturbance is the man of spirit." Further: "If one is capable of not seizing on interpretations [*jie* 解], not creating the mind of delusion, and not esteeming profound knowledge, then he will be at peace. If there is one dharma to be esteemed or valued, this dharma will be the one most capable of binding and killing you, and you will fall into having mind. This is an unreliable state of affairs. There are innumerable common men throughout the world who are found by terminology and the written word."[147]

Elsewhere, the *Erru sixing lun* sums up this point with what has now become an all too familiar metaphor: "All of the Mahayana is words for counteracting disease. If you can have a mind that engenders no disease, what need is there for medicine to counteract disease?"[148]

Thus we arrive at the following redefinition of seated meditation: to be seated in meditation is not to freeze the mind and make it abide in purity or emptiness (or anything for that matter) but to make sure, by not arousing thoughts, that it circulates freely and goes with the flow of the Way. No one summarizes his view better than Shenhui himself:

> Just know yourself that the inherent essence is quiescent, empty and without attributes. It is without abiding or attachment and equivalent to space, with nowhere it does not pervade: This is the body of suchness of the buddhas.

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[147] Yanagida 1969: 212; trans. Broughton 1999: 41 (with some minor changes)

[148] Yanagida 1969: 233-234; trans. Broughton 1999: 44. This saying is attributed to a certain Chan master Xian 顯. Yanagida suggests that this might be Faxian 法顯 (577-653), a disciple of the fourth patriarch Daoxin 道信 (580-651). Broughton concurs with Yanagida.

> Suchness is the essence of non-thought. Because of this idea, I posit non-thought as my doctrine. If you see non-thought you will be permanently empty and serene even though you are possessed of perceptive functions.[149]

And what is non-thought? Shenhui does not hesitate to give us an unequivocal reply: "Just do not construct intentions and the mind will not arise—this is true non-thought."[150] But can no thought indeed help us avoid freezing the mind and succumbing to the malady of emptiness? This question is, I believe, best pursued by looking at another closely related question: if one has no thought and no mind, then how is one different from insentient objects like trees and rocks?[151] In fact, two early Chan texts from Dunhuang, the aforementioned *Jueguan lun* and text known as the *Wuxin lun* 無心論 (Treatise on No Mind), raise this very issue.[152]

In the *Jueguan lun* a disciple by the name of Gateway (*yuanmen* 緣門) asks Master Attainment (*ruli* 入理), "Does the Way lie only in the spiritual body? Or does it also lie in grass and trees?"[153] Attainment's answer is that there is no place the Way does

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[149] Hu 1968: 240-241; trans. Lopez 2004: 510.

[150] 但不作意心無有起是真無念 (Hu 1968: 246); cf. Lopez 2004: 510-511. The locus classicus for no-thought and non-abiding, as is well known, is the following passage from the *Platform Sutra*: "Good friends, in this teaching of mine, from ancient times up to the present, all have set up no-thought as the main doctrine, non-form as the substance, and non-abiding as the basis. Non-fom is to be separated from form even when associated with form. No-thought is not to think even when involved in thought. Non-abiding is the original nature of man. . . . If in all things successive thoughts do not cling, then you are unfettered. Therefore, non-abiding is made the basis. . . . To be unstained in all environments is called no-thought. . . . Therefore, no-thought is established as a doctrine. Because man in his delusion has thoughts in relation to his environment, heterodox ideas stemming from these thoughts arise, and passions and false views are produced from them. Therefore this teaching has established no-thought as a doctrine. Men of the world, separate yourselves from views; do not activate thoughts. If there were no thinking, then no-thought would have no place to exist. 'No' is the 'no' of what? 'Thought' means 'thinking' of what? 'No' is the separation from the dualism that produces the passions. 'Thought' means thinking of the original nature of True Reality" (Yampolsky 1967: 137-139).

[151] For this controversy in Chan, see Sharf 2007.

[152] For the *Wuxin lun*, see App 1995.

not pervade. Gateway then asks Attainment why it is criminal to kill a man but not grass and trees. The latter, he answers, lack self and calculation (or intention; *ji* 計), so they are subject to neither crime nor no-crime and are in accord with the Way (*hedao* 合道). There is, Attainment reminds Gateway, scriptural evidence for this claim. Now, let us take a look at the *Wuxin lun*. In that text, we also have a dialogue between a master and his disciple. The disciple asks, "You have already said, Reverend, that everything everywhere is no-mind; so trees and rocks are also no-mind. But [no-mind] is not the same as trees and rocks, is it?"[154] The master reassures his disciple that no mind is *not* identical to trees and rocks. Why not? Because, "though without mind, it [i.e. the no-mind mind] is very well able to thoroughly perceive the true form of everything."[155] In the *Platform Sūtra* we also find an exchange between the sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能 and Shenhui that hints at a similar concern about trees and rocks. When Shenhui asks Huineng whether he "sees" (*jian* 見) in meditation, he is hit and asked whether it hurt. Shenhui replied, "If it did not hurt, I would be the same as an insentient tree or rock. If it did hurt, I would be the same as a common person, and resentments would arise."[156] The *Erru sixing lun*, however, appears to agree with the *Jueguan lun* in seeing the enlightened mind as being similar to trees and rocks. As the *Erru sixing lun* states: "Question: what mind is the essence of the Way? Answer: the mind is like trees and rocks."[157] Similarly, in Huangbo Xiyun's 黃檗希運 (d. 850) *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essentials of the Teachings on the Transmission of Mind), we also find a reference to the state of having no mind as being identical to trees

[153] The following is borrowed from Tokiwa and Yanagida 1973: 10-11 (for the original text, see p. 91).

[154] App 1995: 94-95.

[155] App 1995: 96.

[156] Yampolsky 1967: 169; cited in App 1995: 94 n. 117. In a record of his sayings from Dunhuang, Shenhui is also known to have launched a direct critique of the attribution of buddha nature to insentient objects like bamboos and chrysanthemums; see Hu 1968: 139. For full English translation of the passage in question, see Sharf 2007.

[157] 問云何心是道体、答心木石 (Yanagida 1969: 98); cf. Broughton 1999: 20. Noted in App 1995: 94 n. 117.

and rocks.[158] The point I wish to make here is not that early Chan was simply divided on the issue of whether having no mind made the practitioner indistinguishable from grass and trees but that this ambivalence was, as far as I can tell, inevitable. As Carl Bielefeldt aptly puts it, the "famous Chan teachings of 'no-thought' (*wunian*) and 'no-mind' (*wuxin*) ran the constant risk of identification with mental extinction, and many of the school's warnings against *dhyāna* seem to have something like this state as their object."[159]

In sum, Yanagida's remark concerning the constant danger of turning the critique of emptiness itself (i.e., no thought) into another surreptitious form of attachment to emptiness appears to have been right on the mark. Irrespective of "school" affiliation, anyone involved in the business of emptiness inevitably seems to have had no choice but

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[158] T48.2012.380a18-19; cited in App 1995: 94 n. 117. See also Blofeld 1958: 31 and Iriya 1969: 12. Curiously, this contradicts a later statement attributed to Huangbo concerning the absence of buddha nature in insentient beings; see T48.2012.386b2-5 (cited in Sharf 2007). Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao* was most likely compiled in the early Song and was included in the Song canon printed (1080-1112) at Dongchan si 東禪寺 in Fuzhou. A reprint (1109) of this edition is still extant and housed at Tōji 東寺 and Kamidaigoji 上醍醐寺 in Japan. The *Chuanxin fayao* was also included in another Song canon printed (1112-1151) at Kaiyuan si 開元寺 in Fuzhou, and a reprint (1148) of this edition is currently housed at Chion'in 知恩院 in Japan. The Chion'in copy (appended to the Kaiyuan si edition of the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈録 [Tiansheng Extensive Record of the Lamp]) has been reproduced in Yanagida 1975. In preparing his translation of the *Chuanxin fayao*, Iriya Yoshitaka (1969) used the Chion'in copy as the base text. The Taishō canon curiously offers two different editions of the *Chuanxin fayao*. For the sake of convenience, the Ming edition from the Southern Canon printed at Baoen si, reproduced in the Taishō canon, has been cited above (T48.2012). Another copy is appended to fascicle nine (wherein we also find the entry on Huangbo) in the Yuan edition of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*; see T51.2076.270b1-273a24. As Yanagida Seizan points out, the Song edition (from the *Sibu congkan*) that Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282-1337) copied by hand (housed at Daitokuji 大徳寺) is almost identical to the Yuan edition and also preserves a copy of the *Chuanxin fayao* in fascicle nine; see Yanagida 2001: 595. A Jin edition can also be found in the *Zhuanghua dazang jing* 中華大藏經 Vol 74. For a very useful line-by-line comparison of the Jin, Yuan, Ming editions, see Yanagida 2001: 650-671. For the various extant editions of the *Chuanxin fayao*, see Shiina 1993a: 584. The *Chuanxin fayao* was also published as part of a Northern Song recorded sayings collection known as the *Sijia yulu* 四家語録 (Recorded Sayings of the Four Houses). A preface prepared by the prominent literatus Yang Jie 楊傑 (n.d.) is dated 1085; see Yanagida 1985: 474 (reprinted in Yanagida 2001: 279). The most commonly used edition of the *Sijia yulu* is based on a Ming reprint. For a copy of this collection printed in Japan in 1648, see Yanagida 1974a. For a rough outline of the history of Huangbo related texts, see Wright 1998: 14-16.

[159] Bielefeldt 1988: 82, n. 6.

to add a disclaimer about the misguided attachment to a mindless state. This, in fact, is even true in the case of Shenhui's alleged opponent Shenxiu. In his *Wu fangbian* 五方便,[160] Shenxiu, for instance, warned his students of the danger of becoming attached to the "taste of meditation" and thus "falling into a Hīnayāna nirvana."[161] This would occur, Shenxiu argued, if one practiced meditation without the aid of the "skillful means of sagacity" (*huifangbian* 慧方便). The Hīnayānists, Shenxiu explains, fear motion, so "they grasp at motionlessness, extinguish the six consciousnesses, and realize a nirvāṇa of empty serenity."[162] Bearing an uncanny resemblance to Shenhui's definition of meditation mentioned earlier, Shenxiu thus claims, "[t]he nonactivation of mind is meditation; the nongeneration of the consciousness is sagacity."[163] In his *Yuanming lun* 圓明論 (Treatise on Perfect Illumination), Shenxiu also explains the dangers of becoming attached to the fruits of meditation as follows:

> Question: What is the error in grasping for the fruit?
> Answer: Grasping for the fruit implies the error of [positing a] self. If an arhat enters *samādhi*, he is like a corpse, or like dead ashes. After a thousand eons he comes out of *samādhi* again, and after coming out of *samādhi* he is just like an ordinary person, with the same [sort of mistaken] discrimination. This discrimination—where does consciousness come from again? A consciousness is generated, and one should clearly understand that it was maintained by the fundamental consciousness [i.e., *ālayavijñāna*]. Therefore, when he comes out of that *samādhi*, he will not have eradicated any of his afflictions at all. Such a catastrophe (i.e., the great of amount of time spent without spiritual advantage)

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[160] This is John McRae's title for various editions of this text (all with differing titles) found at Dunhuang.

[161] McRae 1986: 180.

[162] McRae 1986: 182.

[163] McRae 1986: 190.

occurs because of this error, merely because he does not see that his body is an image of the fundamental consciousness."[164]

What Shenxiu brings to our attention here is nothing new to Buddhism. Similar, if not identical, concerns were raised during an old Buddhist debate about a mindless state known as *nirodhasamāpatti* ("attainment of cessation") or *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha* ("cessation of apperceptions and feelings").[165] How, it was asked, can the practitioner return to mental life again from an enstatic state in which all mental functions have come to cease,[166] and how can liberating insight take place therein?[167] In various guises, this question has come to haunt and re-haunt exegetes of meditation for what appears to be a simple reason: as long as the discriminative mind and the views of emptiness that it espouses are considered the source of attachment and suffering, that a mindless state would eventually come to stand for the Way out of this attachment and suffering seems to be inevitable. It was equally inevitable that one would, as Shenxiu does, come to question

[164] McRae 1986: 162-163.

[165] See Griffiths 1986 and 1983 (the latter is largely a summary of the former).

[166] See Griffiths 1983: 379. This question, as Griffith cogently argues, is related philosophically to the problem of accounting for the continuity of identity; see Griffiths 1986: 38.

[167] This issue has been the subject of an ongoing debate among scholars who hoped to establish a historical and/or philosophical relation between the so-called "rationalistic" and "mystical" trends in Buddhism; see Schmithausen 1981: 215-218; La Vallée Poussin 1937: 191; Griffiths 1986: 22-23; and also Vetter 1988: 63-71. According to some *sutta*s, the cankers (*āśrava*) are removed with discriminating insight after the attainment of *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha*, which belongs to an elaborate path consisting of nine successive states (*anupūrvavihāra*) of meditative concentration (i.e., the four *dhyāna*s followed by the four formless [*arūpa*] spheres and then *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha*). But, as Schmithausen notes, the content of this discriminating insight is all but clear. Judging from context, there are, however, three possibilities: the four noble truths, cankers, and *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha* itself. If we accept either of the first two, as Louis de La Vallée Poussin does, then we must also assume that the insight took place before *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha* since insight of that kind would be impossible therein. If, however, we accept the last option, then we must, as Lambert Schmithausen does, assume that this insight is no insight at all but, rather, "Nirvāṇa realized in a temporary mystical anticipation" (Schmithausen 1981: 217). This is also, in fact, the position of the fifth century monk Buddhagosa who describes *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha* as nirvana, a form of happiness (*sukhaṃ*), "here and now" (*diṭṭhe va dhamme*). Not surprisingly, several sources also refer to *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha* as "touching the sphere of immortality with the body" (*amataṃ dhātuṃ kāyena phusitvā*); see La Vallée Poussin 1937: 189 and 218.

how this mindless state differs from that of a corpse whose mind could be likened to dead ashes. This was not a trivial analogy, for these very same themes, as we shall see in the next few chapters, also held center stage in early, influential works such as the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and also in later debates such as that between the advocates of silent illumination and observing the phrase meditation.

Sweating for Nothing

So far we have seen that the malady of emptiness was a great cause for concern. For, to suffer from the malady was to admit that one had espoused perverted and heretical views of emptiness. But, perhaps for obvious reasons, few, if any, seem to have been willing to openly admit that they had succumbed to this malady, that is, until someone like Dahui established an authoritative precedent for doing so. More often than not, however, the predominant tendency has been for one to accuse another of falling prey to the malady. As such, the malady of emptiness proved to be a very useful ideological tool in defining boundaries where there used to be none. And no one, it seems, put this tool into better use than the pioneers of Chan and Zen.

But we are, after all, speaking of a malady, and it would be absurd to assume that it was simply a matter of doctrine and theory. Accordingly, I would like to conclude this chapter by introducing an indispensable yet oft-neglected aspect of the malady of emptiness—its corporeality. Unfortunately, few seem to have had enough interest in this aspect of the malady to record it for posterity, so we must make do with the small but telling evidence that we do have at our disposal. And what we have at our disposal is the biography of Yuanwu. Dissatisfied with the teachings of his teacher Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024-1104, Yuanwu and his companion Fojian Huiqin 佛鑑慧懃 (1059-1117) is said to have once rudely vocalized their frustrations and left the master's side.[168] Wuzu then

[168] The following account is found in Dahui's *Dahui Pujue chanshi zongmen wuku* 大慧普覺禪師宗門武庫 (Chan Master Pujue Dahui's Arsenal of Teachings; hereafter *Dahui's Arsenal*), T47.1998b.946a3-b22. *Dahui's Arsenal* was edited by Dahui's disciple Daoqian 道謙 (n.d.). A preface to this text is dated 1186. The Taishō canon copy of *Dahui's Arsenal* is based on the Ming edition from the Southern Canon (the Song edition is no longer extant). Ichikawa Hakugen has

told them, "While you wander around in Zhe[jiang] you will catch a sudden feverish illness (*rebing* 熱病) and then you shall think of me." Yuanwu and Fojian did indeed, as Wuzu predicted, suffer from a feverish illness, and having failed to overcome the illness with their ill-guided practice of meditation they eventually returned to Wuzu's side. But what is the significance of this feverish illness? Feverish illnesses or *rebing* were sometimes mentioned by Chan masters as a cause of hallucinations and visions of ghosts (*you rebing jian gui* 猶熱病見鬼),[169] but for the purposes of understanding Yuanwu's illness the following quote from a famed eulogy by the monk Baozhi 寶誌 (418-514) might prove to

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raised doubt concerning the attribution of this text to Dahui; see Ichikawa 1978: 200. However, we do find a reference to *Dahui's Arsenal* in the letter by Yunwo Xiaoying 雲臥曉瑩 (ca. 12 C.E.) appended to the *Yunwo jitan* 雲臥紀談 (Chronicles and Gossip from Yunwo); see ZZ148.46b6-10. In this invaluable letter to a fellow dharma brother by the name of Dunan Wuyan 遯菴無言 (d.u.), Xiaoying launches a lengthy critique against the chronological biography (*nianpu* 年譜) of their teacher Dahui. Xiaoying, for instance, laments at the absence of any reference to *Dahui's Arsenal* in the chronological biography and goes on to explain the provenance of its name. Arsenal (*wuku*) was said to have been chosen as a title by a fellow disciple simply referred to as Zhen 真 of Fuqing 福清 as a playful allusion to the arsenal mentioned in the biography of Du Yu 杜預 (228-294) from the *Jinshu* 晉書 (Book of Jin). On the importance of Yunwo's letter for studying Dahui, see Ishii 1973: 298-299.

Other versions of the above story can also be found in the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Five Lamps Meet at the Source; ZZ138.738b15-) and also in the *Xu chuandeng lu* 續傳燈録 (Continued Record of the Transmission of the Lamp; T51.2077.634a11-15). In his recorded sayings, the *Yuanwu Fuoguo chanshi yulu* 圜悟佛果禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Yuanwu Foguo; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu*), Yuanwu admits to having suffered from a feverish illness, see T47.1997.775a18-20. The *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu* compiled by his disciple Huqiu Shaolung 虎丘紹隆 (1077-1136) in 1133 and published in 1134. The oldest extant copy of this Song edition (preface dated 1134) in ten fascicles is currently housed at Tōfukuji 東福寺. A Yuan reprint edition (1298), housed at Ōtani University, and a Gozan edition (1404) in ten fascicles, housed at Seikidō Bunko 成簣堂文庫, is also extant. See Shiina 1993a: 377, 545-546; Shiina 1997; and also Nozawa 1998: 104-106. According to Yanagida Seizan, the Song (preface dated 1133), Gozan, and Ming editions of the *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu* are all slightly different; see Yanagida 1974b: 486. The Taishō canon provides a copy of the Ming edition in twenty fascicles and this the edition that I have used in this study. I have been unable to consult the earlier editions. For a brief explanation of the contents of this text, see Hsieh 1993: 50-53.

According to *Dahui's Arsenal*, on one occasion Yuanwu and Wuzu is said to have shared the following conversation:

> [Wu]zu said, "You, are good in every respect, but for a minor illness."
> [Yuan]wu politely asked three times, "[I] do not know what illness I have."
> [Wu]zu said, "basically, [your] chan (i.e., meditation) is too excessive" (*zhishi chan teduo* 只是禪忒多) (T47.1998B.956c7-9).

[169] For examples, see T48.2016.482a15, 667b21 and T53.2122.738a9.

be more useful: "If you swiftly awaken to the fundamental emptiness of original nature, this is just like breaking out in a sweat from a feverish illness."[170]

This line was later singled out by Wansong Xingxiu 萬松行秀 (1166-1246) in his anthology of old cases to complement a verse composed by the Chan master Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覺 (1091-1157).[171] In his verse, Hongzhi likens two koan replies, one by a monk named Jianfeng 乾峰 (d.u) and the other by Chan master Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864-949), respectively, to a "medicine for bringing horses back from the dead" (*huan jiang sima yi* 還將死馬醫) and to "incense for returning the *hun*-soul" (*fanhun xiang* 返魂香).[172] According to Wansong, although Jianfeng led the monk who raised the koan to his death with his "dead horse medicine," Yunmen was "able to bring the dead man back to life" with his "soul reviving incense."[173] Paraphrasing the words of Hongzhi, Wansong also laments the use and abuse of Yunmen's "soul-reviving incense" by the current monastic community, who inadvertently turned his precious incense into a

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[170] 忽悟本性元空、恰似熱病得汗; T51.2076.449b22-23. For the dating of Baozhi's above eulogy, *Dasheng zan* 大乘讃 (Encomium of Mahāyāna), see Jai 1996: 89-95.

[171] T51.2076.449b22-23. Wansong's compendium of old cases is known as the *Wansong laoren pingzhang Tiantong Jue heshang songgu Congrongan lu* 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容菴錄 (Encouragement Hermitage Record of the Commentaries by Old Man Wansong on the Case and Verse [Collection] by Master Jue of Tiantong; hereafter *Conrong Record*). It was published in 1224. The *Encouragement Record* is based on an earlier collection of one hundred koans and verse commentaries compiled by Hongzhi Zhengjue. To these koans and verse commentaries Wansong, during his retirement at Congrongan (Encouragement Hermitage) in Baoensi 報恩寺 near present day Beijing, added his own prose commentaries and interlineal notes at the request of the powerful layman Yalü Chuzai 耶律楚材 (1190-1244). The earliest extant copy is the Ming reprint in 1607.

[172] The koan reads as follows: A monk asked Jianfeng, "bhagavats in ten directions, one road to the gate of nirvana; so where does the road begin?" Jianfeng took his staff and drew a line [in the air] and said, "it's right here." The monk [raised this koan] and asked Yunmen, who said, "A fan jumps up to the heaven of the thirty three devas, and attaches itself to the nostrils of Indra. Carp from the eastern sea is hit once and it rains like a spilt dish. Get it? Get it?" (T48.2004.265a21-25). For a somewhat useful English translation of the entire case, see Cleary 1988: 255-258.

According to Wansong, this magical incense for reviving souls is purportedly attested in a legend from the Han dynasty. An emissary from the Yuezhi kingdom of the West brought the incense as a gift to the Han emperor, who used the incense to bring people back to life after a great plague (cf. Cleary 1988: 257).

[173] 能令已死者再甦; T48.2004.265b22-23.

"poison drum" (*dugu* 毒鼓).[174] Those who beat this poison drum, Wansong tells us, can neither breath in nor breath out; in fact, all they can do is sweat profusely.[175]

We thus leave this first chapter with the following observations. Emptiness can, depending on the circumstances, serve as both medicine and illness. If abused or simply misused, for instance, the medicine of emptiness turns into a poison drum that lures the patient into a special kind of death. Conversely, if used properly emptiness can, as Yunmen had once done, bring one back to life. Either way, emptiness had to be properly sacrificed, lest it come to haunt one as the cure that should have never been. How this sacrifice was done and imagined differently by various traditions will be the subject of the next couple of chapters. But before we move on to the next chapter, we must not fail to take note of the fact that, for those exegetes and intellectuals who concerned themselves with such ideas, the experience of succumbing to the malady of emptiness was not a mere allegory or metaphor. When they wrote of a malady that emerges in the mysterious process of nothing becoming something, they were speaking not of one experience (falling into emptiness) with the help of another (feverish illness) but of a single experience that involved pain, sweat, and mental-physical discomfort. The body, in other words, was not simply a window through which the exegete hoped to imagine the unimaginable but also the unmistakable price that one had to pay with one's body for daring to imagine the bittersweet experience we call emptiness.

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[174] The poison drum is a metaphor that is probably borrowed from the *Nirvana sūtra*. The *Nirvana sūtra* likens itself to a drum covered with poison. As those who hear this drum die, for those who hear the *Nirvana sūtra* greed, hatred, and ignorance is similarly eliminated; see T12.374.420a8-12. This reference to the poison drum seems to have been well known among Chan exegetes; see Keyworth 2001: 360 n. 70.

[175] See T48.2004.265c3-5, cf. Cleary 1988: 257.

Chapter Two. To Death and Back Again

Zhaozhou asked Touzi, "When a man [who has died] the great death returns to life, how is it done?"
Touzi said, "He must not go by night; he must get there in daylight."[1]

趙州問投子大死底人卻活時如何
投子云不許夜行投明須到

Introduction

By the time this enigmatic query by Zhaozhou Congshen and witty repartee by Touzi Datong 投子大同 (819-914) found its way into Yuanwu Keqin's highly influential compendium of koans,[2] the *Foguo Yuanwu chanshi biyan lu* 佛果圜悟禪師碧巖錄 (Blue Cliff Record of Chan Master Foguo Yuanwu; hereafter *Blue Cliff Record*),[3] the "great

[1] T48.2003.178c11-179b10. For an alternative English translation, see Cleary and Cleary 1992: 249-252. All translations in this paper are mine unless otherwise indicated.

[2] The term koan is derived from the Japanese term *kōan* 公案, which is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese term *gongan* 公案 ("public case"). The Chinese term seems to have originated as a judicial metaphor—alluding to the magistrate's records of criminal cases—for the anecdotes and utterances of early Chan masters. For a discussion of this metaphor, see Foulk 2000 and Sharf 2007. A number of insightful studies on the evolution of the *gongan* genre as a whole are now available; see Yanagida 1983, Yü 1989, Hsieh 1993, and Keyworth 2001.

[3] The existence of two extant prefaces to the *Blue Cliff Record* that were published respectively in 1125 and 1128 seems to suggest that the text was published sometime earlier in the twelfth century while Yuanwu was still alive. According to these prefaces, the *Blue Cliff Record* is a record of three independent lectures delivered by Yuanwu at Lingquan si 靈泉寺, Daolin si 道林寺, and Zhaojue si 昭覺寺. The prefaces also tell us that the *Blue Cliff Record* is based on Xuedou Chongxian's 雪竇重顯 (980-1052) earlier work, the *Xuedou heshang baize songgu* 雪竇和尚百則頌古 ("Master Xuedou's Verses on One Hundred Old Cases"; hereafter *Xuedou songgu*), which predates the *Blue Cliff Record* by almost a century. Also, in one preface prepared in 1300, we learn that the *Blue Cliff Record* had been lost for centuries but recently restored by the efforts of a man named Zhang Wei 張煒 (or Mingyuan 明遠). See Sueki 2001: 7. See also Hsieh 1993: 47-49. There is also a copy of the *Blue Cliff Record* (entitled *Foguo biyan poguan jijie* 佛果碧巖破關擊節 [Foguo's Praise of Destroying the Barrier at Blue Cliff]) that Dōgen had purportedly copied in a single night and brought back to Japan in 1227. This copy is often referred to as the "one-night copy" or "one-night Hekigan." Cases sixty-six to ninety-three are arranged differently between the one-night copy and the edition prepared by Zhang Wei. For a very useful overview of the various editions of the *Blue Cliff Record*,

death" (*dasi* 大死) had clearly acquired nothing short of an exalted status.[4] Although the great death's appearance in the *Blue Cliff Record* and subsequent koan compendiums was indisputably key to this status, its association with the great Chan master Zhaozhou alone would have sufficed to establish the great death as a topic worthy of special attention among the mature Chan community of the Song dynasty (960-1279).[5] What remains unclear, however, is how and why Zhaozhou came to speak of the great death in the first place.

There is, for instance, no explicit doctrinal or ritual justification for Zhaozhou's reference to the great death. Despite the wealth of material on death and rebirth in Buddhism, not a single scripture mentions a great death from which one can return.[6] Instead, early Buddhist texts focused primarily on the suffering caused by death and rebirth, and stressed the concomitant need to free oneself from this suffering. Elaborate manuals detailing the "mindfulness of death" (*maraṇasati*) and meditation on the impurity

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see Sueki 1992. For the sake of convenience, I will cite the Taishō canon copy, which is based on a relatively late edition (printed in 1677) of the *Blue Cliff Record* housed at Ōtani University.

[4] As we shall see, Zhaozhou and Touzi's exchange on the great death had already gone through several hermeneutic and editorial layers before it appeared in the *Blue Cliff Record.*

[5] Zhaozhou's exalted status is evinced by the numerous references to his sayings in the koan compendiums. I use the term "mature" here cautiously to acknowledge the fact that the Song dynasty, as T. Griffith Foulk and others have shown, saw not a decline, as it was once widely believed, but an ideological and institutional height in the growth of the Chan community in medieval China. See Foulk 1987; Foulk 1993; and the articles in Gregory and Getz 1999.

[6] This, of course, does not mean that the Buddhist texts do not contain any notion of resurrection in one's own lifetime. For instance, within some Buddhist scriptures there are spells and rituals that purportedly bring the dead back to life (T20.1072.168a, T21.1220.98b *passim*). These references to resurrection, however, appear to be marginal and often neglected as there are few, if any, accounts of anyone attempting to use these spells to bring the dead back. Since these spells and rituals are prescribed for evil-doers and heretics, it seems more likely that they were meant to serve not so much as tools for resurrection as for conversion. There are also numerous miracle stories that attest to one's return from death, but none of these tales emphasize the soteriological nature of the death itself as in the case of the great death. They seem to function, in fact, as testimonies to the power of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, particularly Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara. There are too many examples to enumerate, but for a sampling, see *Luelun anle jingtu yi* 略論安樂淨土義 (T47.1957.2b27-28), *Anle ji* 安樂集 (T47.1958.10c11), *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 (T47.1969A.172a22), *Longshu zengguang jingtu wen* 龍舒增廣淨土文 (T47.1970.266c5), and *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (T49.2036.511c5 and 546c1) etc.

and impermanence of the body—meditation, that is, on the decaying cadavers in charnel grounds—known as *asubhabhāvanā*, for instance, meticulously chart out the path to nirvana and the cessation of the vicious cycle of birth and death (*saṃsāra*), but remain silent on the subject of returning from such a "state" (no doubt because nirvana is the full stop which marks the closure of the master-text of the path).[7] It could, of course, be argued that the Buddha's victory over Māra ("he who causes death"), whose name is etymologically derived from √*mṛ* ("to die"),[8] demonstrates an early Buddhist understanding of a sort of "death" and its overcoming, but there is no substantive evidence to suggest that the Chan masters were aware of such a hypothetical connection between the defeat of Māra and the great death.

It could also be argued that the great death, like many other koans, emerged from the new subgenre of "encounter dialogues" and is therefore of relatively recent Chinese coinage.[9] This view seems to be supported by the fact that the phrase, "like a man

[7] The concept of nirvana is a difficult one to grasp and this difficulty, as Steven Collins has aptly shown, is a traditional one, see Collins 1998: esp. 96-117. The notion of nirvana as "full stop (period)" is from Collins 1998: 114. Nirvana could refer both to (metaphorically speaking) a "state" realized within a person's lifetime wherein the cessation of rebirth has been attained and to the final cessation that follows his death.

[8] For studies on Māra, see Ling 1962 and Boyd 1975. As Ling points out, Māra "is a *nomen actoris* to the causative *mārayati*; thus, etymologically, Māra indicates the god who slays, or causes to die" (Ling 1962: 56). As he further points out, it is particularly in reference to the overcoming of death that Māra is mentioned in the Pāli Buddhist canon.

[9] For the history and development of this new subgenre, see Yanagida 1983; Yanagida 1985 (reprinted in Yanagida 2001: 3-526; from here on I will cite the reprint edition); McRae 1992; McRae 2000; and Jia 2006. The term "encounter dialogue" (*kien mondō* 機緣問答) was coined by Yanagida Seizan; see Yanagida 1983: 192. I will continue to use this term for the sake of convenience. Encounter dialogues generally refer to the "spontaneous" and/or "iconoclastic" dialogues attributed to Chan masters of the Tang, most notably, those who belonged to Mazu Daoyi's 馬祖道一 (709-788) Hongzhou Chan 洪州禪 lineage. Scholars have already pointed out the problem with this attribution—we simply do not find any Tang sources that employ the encounter dialogue. In a recent article Mario Poceski, for instance, attempts to show that encounter dialogues date no earlier than the middle part of the tenth century; see Poceski 2005. For a more detailed demonstration, see Poceski 2000: 38-125. John McRae had made the same observation earlier; McRae 1992: 341. In his article on recorded sayings, Poceski also shows that many of the other material (e.g. biography and records of sermons) found in the recorded sayings genre are, unlike the encounter dialogues, based on earlier texts and therefore not necessarily

[who has died] the great death" (*si dasi de ren* 似大死底人), appears no earlier than the middle of the tenth century.[10] Those who uphold this view could also contend that Zhaozhou and Touzi's exchange on the great death (whatever it may stand for) is, like any other koan, a highly stylized and well-crafted artifact that exhibits the typical semantic pattern of a koan, namely paradox.[11]

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products of the tenth century. Poceski's work serves as a necessary corrective to the general account of the emergence of the recorded sayings genre presented in, for instance, Berling 1987. Relying on epigraphical evidence from China and Korea, Jia Jinhua, however, has more recently attempted to establish an earlier date for the emergence of encounter dialogues in the latter half of the ninth century; see Jia 2006: esp. 47-52. It should also be pointed out here that koans, technically speaking, refer to encounter dialogues or old cases (*guce* 古則) that have been singled out and commented upon by future generations of Chan masters; see Foulk 2004: 27.

[10] A quick search of the Taishō canon, for instance, yields the following results. The term "great death" appears forty-one times in the canon and the phrase "a man [who has died] the great death" (or, literally "a man of great death") appears twenty-two times, almost exclusively within the context of Chan recorded sayings (*yulu* 語録), none of which predate the Song. The phrase, "a man [who has died] the great death," often appears with some variation such as "just like a man [who has died] the great death" (*ru dasi ren xiangsi* 如大死人相似) in the *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Dahui Pujue; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Dahui*; T47.1998A.863c14), "just like a man [who has died] the great death and comes back to life" (*ru dasi ren xiangsi* 如大死人卻活相似) in the *Blue Cliff Record* (T48.2003.146c10), "like a man who has died the great death and was able to return to life" (*si dasi de ren huode qilai* 似大死底人活得起來) and "like a man who has died the great death and only then returns to life" (*si dasi de ren que huoshide* 似大死底人卻活始得) in the *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu* (T47.1997.769n27-28 and T47.1997.749a23 respectively). To my knowledge, none of the above is attested in a pre-Song source.

[11] A series of articles and manuscripts have appeared recently to rectify the misleading view that koans are intentionally confounding and nonsensical. For instance, see the articles in Heine and Wright 2000 and Sharf 2007.

Although paradox is evident in many encounter dialogues, we must be cautious not to reduce the reading of the latter into the former. Touzi's reply that one must return during the day and not during the night *as might a revenant or ghost* defies the common tendency to simply assume and thus reify such proverbial states of existence after death, and paradoxically asserts instead that one must return from the great death *as if one were alive*. As useful as this literary approach may be, it would serve us well to remember that this semantic pattern is shared by virtually all other koans and that the stylized structure of the great death koan could perforce be indicative not so much of the meaning of the great death itself as of the rhetorical bent of the koan (or encounter dialogue) editing process. For a useful demonstration of this editing process and its after effects, see Poceski 2004; see also McRae 2003: 98-100.

The frequency with which the rhetorical pattern (i.e., paradox) appears in koans reflects the consistency and extensiveness of this editing process; see Sharf 2007. Both Poceski and McRae, however, add the caveat that there might be some "reality" and "truth" behind these dialogues as

The great death, as we shall see, was a complex symbol and metaphor. Although scriptural sources make no explicit reference to the great death, its seemingly sudden appearance in the tenth century was actually anticipated by earlier developments in Buddhist and non-Buddhist thought. Underlying the relatively simple narrative of great death and return to life, we find, for instance, old concerns about the nature of emptiness and its relation to *upāya*, the attainment of no mind, the fear of annihilation, the threat of radical nondualism,[12] the heresy of substantialism (otherwise known as the Śrenika heresy),[13] and the enlightenment of grass and trees (*caomu chengfo* 草木成佛).[14] But more important for our purposes, perhaps, is the great death's relation to the malady of meditation.

At the risk of being somewhat simplistic, we can perhaps define this relation plainly as follows: attachment to the great death results in the malady of meditation. As

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they could have been transmitted orally, not textually (of which we have no evidence); see Poceski 2005: 73 and McRae 2003: 96. What we need, I hope to argue, is an approach that strikes a balance between this rhetorical structure of paradox that characterizes the koan genre and the latent symbolism of its individual elements like the great death.

[12] By radical nondualism I have in mind Mazu's famous motto: "the ordinary mind is the Way" (*pingchangxin shi dao* 平常心是道); see T51.2076.440a5. Zongmi also attributes this claim to the Hongzhou 洪州 lineage of Mazu in his commentary on the *Yuanjue jing*; ZZ 14.279a2-3. For a discussion of this motto in English, see Jia 2006: 67-72. The same phrase is also attributed to those in Mazu's lineage such as Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748-834) in the *Zutang ji*; see ZTJ 5/37/5 and 5/13/3. Buddhist conceptions of radical nondualism have often, but not necessarily, been supported by the notion of innate or original enlightenment (see n. 14 below). Luis Gómez has already cogently pointed out the danger of confusing innateness with radical nondualism; see Gómez 1987: 95.

[13] In her monumental study of the notion of "original enlightenment" (*hongaku* 本覚) Jacqueline Stone offers a very useful summery of the substantialist heresy; see Stone 1999: 77-85. As she notes, in the *Nirvana Sūtra*, the heretic Śrenika is said to have taught the existence of an immortal soul that reincarnates in successive bodies; T12.1828.594a14-596b10. In his *Bendōwa* 辨道話 (A Tale of the Way), Dōgen refers to this heresy to critique the notion of an unchanging and everlasting mind or original nature. More recently, the Japanese scholars Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shirō have launched a similar critique of the influential notion of original enlightenment. Their work catalyzed the intellectual movement known as Critical Buddhism (*hihan bukkyō* 批判仏教).

[14] The enlightenment of grass and trees is, as demonstrated in Chapter One, discussed in the *Jueguan lun* and other sources; see Tokiwa 1973: 10-11. As we shall see, the practice of likening the state of having no mind and the great death to insentient objects was widespread.

simple as this definition may seem, it is in fact riddled with conceptual problems that I hope to unpack in the next two chapters. We must, for instance, make sense of what it means to become attached to the great death, which is often described as the act of completely severing the mind from all forms of attachment, dualisms, and conceptual thought, that is, of having no mind. As paradoxical and unlikely as it may first seem, in the eyes of certain Buddhist exegetes the great death, like emptiness (as we saw in Chapter One), never seems to have escaped the suspicion that it may itself be a conceptual construct and thus an illusory object to which the deluded mind can still become attached.

This, for instance, is exactly what the Song dynasty Chan master Dahui Zonggao accused the teachers of the so-called "heretical Chan of silent illumination" (*mozhao xiechan* 默照邪禪) of ignoring. Taking silence as the highest principle, these "bald heretics," according to Dahui, taught their students to sit quietly, rest and relax like a withered tree, and die the great death. Such relaxation, the so-called heretics of silent illumination believed, would eventually bring cognition and conceptual thought to an end as a consequence of which the practitioner would become just like dirt, trees, tiles, and rocks. All forms of duality and attachment—even the attachment to what these heretics claimed to be a deluded notion of enlightenment—would then cease and one's inherent purity would thus be illuminated by wisdom. Dahui, as we shall see, remained skeptical of these claims and warned that the state of great death and great relaxation propounded by the teachers of silent illumination was just another product of the deluded mind. The wondrous transformation known as enlightenment, he retorted, is surely possible and must be pursued not with rest and relaxation but with great determination and vigor.

Key to understanding the malady of meditation, then, is the age-old issue of how to accurately distinguish deluded notions of enlightenment from the "real" thing. Dahui's solution to this problem, as we shall see in Chapter Three, was the simple injunction to "know for oneself" (*zizhi* 自知). But what exactly did Dahui urge his students to know for themselves? According to the general consensus among historians of

Chan, it was "the experience of enlightenment."[15] These same scholars also contend that Dahui emphasized "the experience of enlightenment" so as to overcome an "internal crisis" precipitated by the persecution of Buddhism in 845 or—and this seems to be the prevailing consensus—to accommodate the growing number of literati followers who wished to practice Chan during the Southern Song.[16] As an alternative to the above claims, Robert Buswell turns to what he calls the "internal dynamic" within Chan and contends that Dahui's new koan technique was "the culmination of a long process of evolution in Chan whereby its subitist rhetoric came to be extended to pedagogy and finally to practice."[17]

Although there is certainly some truth to these claims, I want to argue against them. As I hope to show, Dahui's technique was not so much the culmination of the Chan tradition's collective effort to put their subitist rhetoric into practice—a technique, as Buswell puts it, that used the "inherent frustration over the incapacity of language" as a soteriological tool[18]—as a scrupulous exegete's earnest attempt to recapitulate an old and, dare I say, gradualist concern about the necessity of expedient devices for the attainment of enlightenment.[19] Particularly important for Dahui, as we shall see, was the issue of how to reconcile the need to know the Way (*dao* 道) of the buddhas and patriarchs for oneself and the equally important obligation to adhere to received models of the path (*dao*). The problem for Dahui, in other words, was how to prevent one's efforts to follow past models from becoming a mere repetition or imitation of what the buddhas and patriarchs have

[15] The frequency with which the term "experience" and Dahui's name is mentioned in the same breath is simply astonishing. For instance, see Suzuki 1971: 25; Chün-fang Yü 1979: 219; Buswell 1987: 336; Bielefeldt 1988: 102; Sharf 1995a: 266-267; Schlütter 1999: 113.

[16] For the "internal crisis" argument, see Yü 1979: 218-219. For the latter argument, see Buswell 1987: 350; Bielefeldt 1988: 104; Sharf 1995a: 207; Schlütter 1999: 138. It should be pointed out that Yü was also cognizant of the role of the literati in the development of Dahui's views of Chan; Yü 1979: 229.

[17] Buswell 1987: 322.

[18] Buswell 1987: 336.

[19] See also Faure 1991: esp. 41 and Bielefeldt 1988: esp. 11, 99-105.

already done and said. For Dahui the answer to this problem did not lie in simply abandoning these models for something like "the experience of enlightenment" but in mastering these models so that one may utilize them to know the Way for oneself. The central task for the student of the Way, in other words, was to *take*, not discard, the words and deeds of the patriarchs and *make them his/her own*. Dahui was thus adamantly opposed to the idea of having "extraordinary ideations (or experiences)" (*jite zhi xiang* 奇特之想) and proposed instead the continued struggle with impenetrable koans—the *elite* art of koan exegesis—to *all* his followers. As we shall see, he considered such experiences to be a major fault of the heretical practice of silent illumination. In fact, he considered it to be nothing less than a grave illness, an illness he calls the malady of meditation.

With this in mind, the following chapter will proceed as follows. First, I will examine the literary provenance of the great death. In doing so, I hope to establish a relation between the great death and the rise of a new subgenre within the Chan tradition, namely the encounter dialogue. Next, I will attempt to demonstrate that the great death, which initially appeared as the exposition of specific doctrines (e.g. emptiness, nonduality, and no mind), came to serve as a broad interpretive frame for making sense of the whimsical queries, shouts, and silences that characterize its medium, that is, the encounter dialogue. Through a careful examination of some illustrative examples I hope to show (1) that this was indeed the case and (2) that this frame came to be understood as the formation and resolution of a double bind. It was this frame, I argue, that Dahui put to use when he confronted the so-called heretics of silent illumination and devised his own technique of koan exegesis. However, since Yuanwu seems to have been the first to make systematic note of this interpretive frame (probably as a result of his exegetical efforts to compare and thus arrive at a common vision shared by the various encounter dialogues), I shall lay heavy emphasis on his teachings first and save Dahui's arguments for the next chapter.

By performing a close reading of Yuanwu's work I also hope to show that the great death had not always been coupled with the need to return to life. The coupling of (great) "death" with "life" in encounter dialogues, I argue, reflects a broad shift in the

medieval Buddhist attitude towards the notion of embodying the Way. Monistic, reified, and exclusive conceptions of the Way that stubbornly insisted on its ineffable and unmediated quality such as no mind, as we shall see, gave way to a more inclusive vision of the Way that favored personal understanding over rigid interpretation, idiosyncrasy over organic holism, and innovation over sterile repetition. To be sure, several attempts had been made earlier by the burgeoning Chan traditions to bring this inclusive vision to fruition,[20] but none seems to have been as successful as the unique style of rhetoric and scriptural exegesis known as the encounter dialogue.

Finally, in lieu of a conclusion, I will take a brief look at a short autobiography from the late fifth or early sixth century China. My analysis of this autobiography will show that the need to supplement "death" with "life" was, indeed, not felt at this relatively early stage in the history of Chinese Buddhism. I also turn to this autobiography in anticipation of another important issue that I hope to raise in Chapters Three: what relation, if any, is there between spiritual death and the rise of a distinctive form of Buddhist autobiography in the twelfth century? I believe the answer to this question can only be had if we first take a closer look at encounter dialogues and the subtle transition from "death" to "life" that occurred therein.

Literary Provenance of the Great Death

Let me begin by briefly returning to the story of Zhaozhou's visit to Mt. Touzi. Although the legendary exchange between Zhaozhou and Touzi is perhaps best known as it appears in the *Blue Cliff Record*, it should be noted that what is possibly the earliest extant record of this exchange actually appears in an important Chan anthology known as the *Zutang ji*, sometimes dated to 952.[21] In the *Zutang ji*, Zhaozhou and Touzi's exchange occurs as part

[20] For the tension between inclusive and exclusive Chan, see esp. Faure 1991: 21, 32-78; Bielefeldt 1988.

[21] Yanagida Seizan (under his given name Yokoi Shūzan) was the first to suggest 952 as the date of the *Zutang ji*'s compilation; see Yokoi 1953. This date has been in use ever since. It should be noted, however, that the extant Korean copy of the *Zutang ji* is actually a reprint made in 1245. This reprint consists of twenty fascicles, but the original text is said to have consisted of just one. Also, the *Zutang ji* contains terminology that only date to the Song. For these and other reasons, recent

of a larger story, which I translate in full below:

> Zhaozhou arrived at [Mt.] Touzi[22] and [noticed that] there was a shop under the mountain. [There] he asked a person, "Where is Touzi?" The layperson replied, "Why do you ask?" Zhaozhou said, "I have long heard of the venerable (*heshang* 和尚) and I wish to say my greetings." The lay [person] said, "It is near, but there is no need to climb the mountain. Tomorrow morning [he will] come and beg for money, so wait for him [here] and meet him [then]." Zhaozhou said, "If that's the case, when the venerable comes do not tell him that there is a patch-robed monk [waiting for him] here." The layperson agreed. The master (*shi* 師; i.e., Touzi) indeed came down to beg for money. Zhaozhou came out, grabbed him, and said, "I have long heard of Touzi, is this it?" As soon as the master heard these words he immediately bent over and withdrew [to one side]. The master then took up his wicker basket and said, "Give me money for some salt." Zhaozhou jumped inside [the wicker basket]. The master then returned to the mountain. Zhaozhou followed from a distance and asked Touzi, "When one wrests life from the midst of death, how is it done?" The master said, "One must not go by night; one must get there in daylight." Zhaozhou came back down [from the mountain] and ran away. The master [then] instructed an attendant, "you go and ask him what my intention was." The attendant then went and called Zhaozhou. As Zhaozhou turned his head the attendant asked, "why did the venerable [i.e., Touzi] speak in such a way?" Zhaozhou said, "I met a great uncle (*taibo* 太伯)!" The attendant returned and reported back [what Zhaozhou said].[23] The master laughed out loud. A certain monk raised

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scholarship on the *Zutang ji* has come to question its dating and brings its compilation closer to that of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. A useful summary of this new scholarship can be found in Welter 2004. Urs App, on the other hand, provides some evidence to support the thesis that the *Zutang ji* was compiled before 952 and that little alteration was made to the text; see App 1991: 25. For what is currently the most comprehensive and detailed explanation of the historical background and content of the *Zutang ji* in English, see Welter 2006: 59-113.

[22] Mt. Touzi 投子山 is located in Anhui province, China.

> this [before] Xuefeng[24] and then asked, "why did the ancient one [i.e. Touzi] speak in such a way?" Xuefeng said,[25] "I have long considered myself a liar (*hubo* 胡伯),[26] [but] here we have another liar!"[27]

Compare the above story to the following version found in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, a lengthy history of the Chan tradition compiled in 1004:

> One day the venerable Zhaozhou [Cong]shen arrived at Tongcheng Prefecture,[28] so the master [i.e. Touzi] also left the mountain. They crossed paths but did not recognize each other. Zhaozhou discreetly asked a layman and found out that [the other monk] was Touzi. He thereupon approached [Touzi] and said, "If it isn't the lord of Mt. Touzi?" The master said, "Please offer me some money for tea and salt." Zhaozhou arrived at the hermitage first and took a seat. The master later returned to the hermitage with a bottle of oil. Zhaozhou said, "I have long heard of Touzi, but now that I've come here I only see an old man selling oil." The master said, "You simply see an old man selling oil, but you don't recognize Touzi." [Zhaozhou] said, "What is Touzi?" The master said, "Oil! Oil!" Zhaozhou asked, "When one wrests life from the midst

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[23] Or, literally, "raised" this (*jusi* 舉似). *Si* here is an auxiliary verb indicating direction.

[24] Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822-908).

[25] Given the special relation, first noticed by Yanagida Seizan, between Xuefeng's faction and the compilation of the *Zutang ji*, it should come as no surprise to find a final comment by Xuefeng at the end of Zhaozhou and Touzi's encounter. In fact, the *Zutang ji* is replete with similar examples of pithy comments by Xuefeng appended to notable encounters between distinguished, contemporary masters. See also Welter 2004: 146-147 or Welter 2006: 65-70.

[26] Although Koga Hidehiko and Iriya Yoshitaka, citing the same passage, translates *hubo* literally as "barbarian uncle," *hubo* here is clearly a homonym of *hubo* 胡白, which can be translated as "liar." See Iriya and Koga 1991: 117. The second character, *bo* ("uncle), is most likely a pun on Zhaozhou's prior remark that he has met a great uncle (*taibo*). Another famous pun might also be at work here. *Hubo*, if taken to mean "barbarian uncle," as Koga and Iriya suggest, could also allude to the legendary barbarian, Bodhidharma.

[27] ZTJ 2/40/9-2/41/8.

[28] Tongcheng 桐城 prefecture is located in present day Anhui province, China.

of death, how is it done?" The master said, "One must not go by night; one must get there in daylight." Zhaozhou said, "I thought I was a bad, you're even worse!"[29] (The questions exchanged between the two masters, [Da]tong and [Cong]shen, are largely [recorded] in the *Original Collection*. Their words and phrases were simple and wholesome, and their meaning was profound. Various people [thus] said, "Zhaozhou and Touzi have attained the [wondrous] function of exceptional men.")[30]

First, note the remarkable discrepancy between the two versions. Also note the growing emphasis on dialogue at the expense of narrative detail in the latter version from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. What we may derive from these two points, among other things, is the simple observation that the story of Zhaozhou's visit to Mt. Touzi appears to have been in a continual process of transformation and (re-)codification during the tenth and early eleventh century.[31] More specifically, the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu* seem to have captured the story in the middle of its rapid transformation into what for lack of a

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[29] This line, *wo zao* Hou Bo *yi geng* Hou Hei 我早侯白伊更侯黑, can be more literally translated as "I had always thought of myself as Hou Bo, but you turn out to be Hou Hei." Hou Bo or Hou Bai (ca. 6 C.E.), otherwise known as Junsu 君素, is said to have been famous for his sarcasm and humor. The name eventually became a generic term for a clownish figure. See Morohashi 633.74. In a footnote to their translation of Touzi's entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Masunaga Reihō and Sahashi (or Sano) Hōryū note that Hou Bo was the name of a bandit from the region of Min 閩, who was renowned for his dirty tricks. Hou Bo, however, is said to have been eventually deceived by his evil wife Hou Hei. In short, there is always someone better than the best. I have not, however, been able to locate the source of this note. See Masunaga and Sano 1959: 391, n. 29.

[30] T51.2076.319a6-14. As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was originally compiled in 1004 by Daoyuan and reedited into its current form of thirty fascicles by Yang Yi in 1009. Under Yang's recommendation the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was added to the official canon printed in Sichuan (971-983) in 1011; see Shiina 1993a: 174. Yang's text survives today in two different editions, the Tōji edition of 1080 published at Dongchan si 東禪寺 in Fuzhou and the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition published in 1316. The latter served as the basis of the current edition found in the Taishō canon. The *Sibu congkan* edition was largely based on the Sijian 思鑒 woodblock edition of 1134, which has be reproduced in Yanagida's *Zengaku sōsho* series (Yanagida 1976). As Welter points out, the *Sibu congkan* edition, although published later, seems to represent an earlier state of the text; see Welter 2006: 118. For the above passage in the Song edition, see Yanagida 1976: 128.

[31] This transformation was not restricted to the above story. See Poceski 2004.

better word can be termed a full-blown encounter dialogue. However, as the *Zutang ji* makes no direct references to its source(s) for the above story, it is difficult to determine whence the story first originated and what it initially looked like.[32]

Fortunately, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* does reveal one obscure source, the *Original Collection* (*Benji* 本集), in an interlineal note appended to the end of Zhaozhou and Touzi's story (see translation above). Although the *Original Collection* itself is no longer extant and thus unavailable for comparison, in his invaluable study on the *Recorded Sayings of Touzi* (*Touzi heshang yulu* 投子和尚語錄) the Japanese scholar Ibuki Atsushi convincingly shows that such a collection had indeed been in wide circulation among Chan practitioners at the beginning of the eleventh century when the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was compiled.[33] Possibly under a different name, the collection also seems to have served as the source for the *Recorded Sayings of Touzi*, which Ibuki carefully dates to 1021.[34] Based on his painstaking comparison of all the extant records of Touzi's sayings, Ibuki also

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[32] Curiously, although an episode from Zhaozhou's purported visit to Mt. Touzi is also recorded in Zhaozhou's recorded sayings, no mention is made of their exchange on death and returning to life. For the above anecdote concerning Zhaozhou's visit to Mt. Touzi in the *Recorded Sayings of Zhaozhou*, see Yanagida 1973c: 52 and ZZ 118.331b11-14; cf. Akizuki 1972: 400 (Paragraph #501).

[33] See Ibuki 1985. Ibuki's argument is largely based on the preface to Touzi's recorded sayings preserved in the *Guzunsu yuyao*; Yanagida 1973c: 10-18. In his article, Ibuki demonstrates that the preface to Touzi's recorded sayings was prepared by Xuanmi Jusu 宣密居素 on the year of his death (1021). In his preface, Jusu claims that *The Essentials of the Words from [Touzi's] Shengtang [Lectures] and Questions and Answers* (*Shengtang wenda yuyao* 昇堂問答語要), which Ibuki takes to be the title of a text, flourished throughout the Chan community. The preface also tells us that Chan practitioners often used Touzi's words (presumably from the above text) to question Chan adepts such as Jusu. Jusu is said to have felt compelled to edit Touzi's words together into a single collection when he noticed that monks entering his room (*rushi* 入室) for edification often misquoted the master. In the process of compiling this collection, Jusu claims to have edited out redundancies and fixed obvious mistakes. Indeed, as Jusu claims, Ibuki finds that the *Recorded Sayings of Touzi* is replete with unequivocal traces of editing and rearrangement. For Jusu's preface, see Yanagida 1973c: 10 and ZZ 118.629a16-b11. A very useful, transcribed copy of the earliest edition of this preface can also be found in Shiina 2002: 518-519.

[34] Upon comparing Touzi's recorded sayings with the *Jingde chuandeng lu*'s entry on Touzi, Ibuki finds that they are clearly related. Ibuki thus claims that the *Shengtang wenda yuyao* (the root text of Touzi's recorded sayings) and the *Original Collection* (the root text of Touzi's entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*) must also be related, if not identical, texts.

argues that this *Original Collection*, which probably looked a lot like Touzi's entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, contained only his sayings and thus lacked the biographical narrative that we find in both the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*.[35] This last point is worth unpacking here in some detail.

Consisting of approximately eighty characters, the short biographical narrative that we find at the beginning of Touzi's entry in both the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, a typical feature of the genre,[36] supplies us with Touzi's ordination name, birthplace, secular surname, the master under whom he first received tonsure, and content of his early training. The same narrative also mentions his extensive pilgrimage, subsequent hiding in Mt. Touzi (located near the place of his birth), and his noteworthy encounter with bandits during a popular uprising that occurred between the years 874 and 884. In both texts the narrative ends with Touzi's death on the sixth day of the fourth month in the year 914. The same narrative, I hasten to add, is also reproduced almost verbatim in the influential collection of Buddhist hagiographies, *Songgaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks), compiled by the monk Zannning 贊寧 (919-1002) in 988.[37] Unlike the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, however, the *Songgaoseng zhuan* does not include a record of his sayings. Why not? Ibuki believes, and rightly so, that these texts, as has been the custom, probably lifted the content of Touzi's biography from an earlier account of conduct (*xingzhuang* 行狀) or, perhaps, from a memorial stele prepared upon his death.[38] As neither genre has been known to traditionally provide an extensive

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[35] Touzi's recorded sayings do not include the biographical section; see Yanagida 1973c: 10.

[36] For a useful study on Chinese Buddhist hagiographies see Kieshnick 1997. Chinese Buddhist hagiographies were largely based on the format of official biographies. For a convenient overview of the official biographies genre, see Wright and Twitchett 1962.

[37] T50.2061.785b5-16. The *Songgaoseng zhuan* was compiled under the imperial decree (issued in 982) of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-997) of the Song dynasty.

[38] In the entry on Touzi's teacher Cuiwei Wuxue 翠微無學 (d.u.), the editors of the *Zutang ji*, for instance, lament that they were unable to consult a record of his conduct (*xinglu* 行録); ZTJ 2/9/1; noted in Ibuki 1985: 68, n. 47. It is also worth noting here another interesting point raised by Ibuki. In the *Zutang ji* and Touzi's recorded sayings we find questions and answers exchanged between

record of its subject's sayings, the absence of Touzi's sayings in the *Songgaoseng zhuan* is not at all surprising. Accordingly, what most likely occurred was the following series of events: Touzi's biography was first culled from a record of his deeds or his memorial stele and then his sayings were later woven into this basic biographical frame to finally form a new image of Touzi that meets the expectations of what Chan historians now call "classical Chan."

In effect, since the story of Zhaozhou and Touzi's encounter is nowhere to be found in the *Songgaoseng zhuan*, it seems safe to assume that this story was first recorded not in Touzi's biography but in a certain collection of his sayings. But in which collection? Although the notable differences between Touzi's sayings recorded in the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu* render it highly unlikely that both texts relied on the same source (i.e., the *Original Collection*),[39] the story of Touzi's encounter with Zhaozhou—if its appearance in both texts is any indication—most likely belonged to the oldest stratum of Touzi's sayings on which the *Original Collection* is probably also based.[40] (Of what this oldest stratum exactly consists, we may unfortunately never know.[41]) Furthermore, given the

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Touzi and his teacher Cuiwei under Touzi's entry. As Ibuki also convincingly shows, however, this exchange was retrieved not from Touzi's recorded sayings but from a record of Cuiwei's teachings. The same dialogue is properly located under Cuiwei's entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. See Ibuki 1985: 61-64. The practice of keeping an account of conduct was in wide use during the Tang. These accounts, for instance, were used by the Historiographical Office (*shiguan* 史館) in the imperial palace as a sort of curriculum vitae for compiling official biographies for the recently deceased. In fact, despite the fact that these accounts of conduct were composed neither by the historians or the staff of the Department of Merit Assessments (*kaogongsi* 考功司) but rather by junior family members, disciples, or subordinates of the deceased, the these accounts were often the most important source for compiling such biographies; see Twitchett 1992: 66-67.

[39] Due to the illegibility of a certain segment of Touzi's entry in the Korean woodblock copy of the *Zutang ji* it is difficult to say how much this entry differed from that of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. However, even if this illegible part were to be properly restored, less than one third of the *Zutang ji* entry would coincide with that of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

[40] Unlike any of the other stories in Touzi's entry, the story of Zhaozhou's visit to Mt. Touzi in the *Zutang ji* comes with its own commentary. At the end of the story we find several short dialogues wherein other Chan masters comment specifically on the story. This also seems to indicate that the story had already been in circulation for some time.

early date of the *Zutang ji*'s compilation and its relatively heavy reliance on narrative detail, the *Zutang ji* version, I suspect, is older than that of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* and may therefore bear a stronger resemblance to its initial form. Be that as it may, it must be noted that subsequent generations tended to remember the story as it was retold by the *Jingde chuandeng lu* or, shall I say, the *Original Collection*.[42]

With caution we may therefore arrive at the following preliminary conclusion: The story of Touzi's encounter with Zhaozhou was first recorded in an early collection of Touzi's sayings but not in his biography. The story then underwent a transformation that privileged spontaneous dialogue over biographical narrative. In the meantime, Touzi's recorded sayings and his biography circulated widely as separate texts in the tenth century. They were, however, later collated together into one comprehensive biographical text. This was done in order to create an entry for Touzi in the various records of the transmission of the lamp (*chuandeng lu* 傳燈録), a genre that was developed for the purpose of establishing a sense of legitimacy for certain sectarian movements and also for the "Chan tradition" (*chanzong* 禪宗) as a whole.[43] Eventually, one representation of Touzi (and thus one version of the above story) came to prevail over all others, namely

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[41] For now, a good guess would be that the earliest stratum consisted of at least those two or three (encounter) dialogues that are found in both the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

[42] See, for instance, ZZ 136.775b7-12, ZZ 113.114a7-12, and ZZ 138.189a9-15. See also Ibuki 1985: 56. Curiously, although the *Chuandeng yuying ji* 傳燈玉英集 (Collection of Outstanding Treasures in the Transmission of the Lamp), an abridged version of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* published in 1034, also relied naturally on the *Jingde chuandeng lu* version of our story, it does not mention Zhaozhou and Touzi's exchange regarding the great death; see Yanagida 1975: 227. The same, in fact, goes for the recorded sayings of Touzi; see Yanagida 1973c: 12.

[43] As noted earlier, the *Zutang ji*, for instance, seems to have been compiled in an attempt to bolster the status of those monks who traced their lineages back to Xuefeng. See Yanagida 1953. Similarly, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* seems to strengthen the credentials of the Fayan branch of its editor Daoyuan. The same can be said of the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* and the Linji branch; see Ishii 2000 and Welter 186-206. The *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* was compiled by the Song literatus Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (988-1038), a relative of the imperial family, and published in 1036. The *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* is particularly noteworthy because it is the first of its kind to receive a preface prepared by an reigning emperor, which in this case happens to be Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022-1063); see Yanagida 1971a: 79-80 (reprinted in Yanagida 1976: 727 and Yanagida 2001: 532); see also Welter 2006: 186-187. For the unified vision of a "Chan tradition," see Foulk 1987: 42-49.

that version recorded in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. The simple point I wish to make from this preliminary conclusion is this: the story of Touzi's encounter with Zhaozhou is intimately connected to the emergence of the encounter dialogue subgenre and the two important Chan genres that served as its primary medium, namely recorded sayings and the record of the transmission of the lamp. I would even go so far as to say here that the emergence of the encounter dialogue and its mediums made it possible for the story and the narrative trope of dying the great death and returning to life reflected therein to exist.

The Double Bind of Life and Death

For us to better determine of what this experience exactly consists, we must once again briefly return to our story in the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Note that in both versions no mention of a "great" death is made. Instead, what we find is the identical expression "one wrests life from the midst of death" (*sizhong dehuo* 死中得活).[44] Like the story in which it appears, the expression in question seems to be intimately connected to the encounter dialogue and the two genres mentioned above. The earliest extant record of its use, for instance, is none other than our story from the *Zutang ji*.[45] Others soon followed. In the recorded sayings of Yunmen, for instance, we also find Yunmen trying to make sense of the same expression: "Question: 'When one wrests life from the midst of death, how is it done?' The master [i.e. Yunmen] replied: 'In the morning walk three

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[44] Although Zhaozhou's words are remembered differently, when Touzi was quoted (i.e., "One must not go by night; one must get there in daylight") by later generations of Chan masters he was almost always quoted verbatim. For instance, see the *Mingjue chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Mingjue; T47.1996.675b4, T47.1996.693a6, T47.1996.693a7, T47.1996.710a28). I shall have more to say on the *Mingjue chanshi yulu* later. See also *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (T47.1998A.851b27, T47.1998A.896a1), *Dahui's Arsenal* (T47.1998B.947a3, T47.1998B.949b25), *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu* 宏智禪師廣錄 (Extensive Record of Chan Master Hongzhi; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Hongzhi*; T48.2001.5c18, T48.2001.6a09, T48.2001.24a29, T48.2001.63a27), *Congrong Record* (T48.2004.266b13, T48n2004.266c03), *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T51.2076.303b25, T51.2076.319a13), and *Xu chuandeng lu* (T51.2077.592a16, T51.2077.617a17, T51.2077.660a08, T51.2077.670b25). In one interesting instance, before Touzi's reply is quoted (almost verbatim), a reference to an old man selling oil is made; see *Recorded Sayings of Hongzhi* (T48.2001.83b29).

[45] Again, this presumes that the extant of this text is a fairly reliable copy of the original.

thousand [steps] and at night walk eight hundred.'"[46] Similarly, in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* we find the following words of a certain Chan master by the name of Zigai Shanzhao 紫蓋善沼 (fl. 10 C.E.): "A monk asked, 'When one wrests life from the midst of death, how is it done?' The master [i.e. Shanzhao] replied, 'Take a hoe and slice [your] bones, roast heaven and earth until they are destroyed, and beg for life in the coffin.' [The monk] asked, 'Having come back to life, if you die [again], what can be done?' The master replied, 'Fortunately you realize you're sick.'"[47] To my knowledge, this is the earliest reference to one's proclivity for "death" as an illness, but we shall return to this important matter shortly.

In the recorded sayings of Chan master Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869), however, the same expression is used not as a topic of query but as a metaphor for the resolution of a particular kind of double bind:

> The master [i.e. Dongshan], while walking with Shenshan,[48] pointed to a roadside shrine and said, "There is a person in there teaching about mind and nature."
>
> Shenshan said, "Who is it?"

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[46] 朝行三千夜行八百 (ZZ 118.351a14-15). Yunmen's sayings are recorded in the *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu* 雲門匡真禪師廣錄 (Extensive Record of Chan Master Yunmen Kuangzhen; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Yunmen*). The earliest printed edition of the *Recorded Sayings of Yunmen* is known to date as far back as 1035, and another edition was published in 1053. Shiina Kōyū reports that an edition of this text printed in 1076 is currently housed at Ryōsokuin 両足院 in Kenninji 建仁寺. He also notes that this edition is identical to the edition preserved in the Song edition of the *Guzunsu yulu*. A copy of Yunmen's recorded sayings can also be found in a larger collection known as the *Wujia yulu* 五家語録 (Recorded Sayings of the Five Houses) compiled in 1630 and published in 1665. The *Wujia yulu* edition has been reproduced in Yanagida Seizan's *Zengaku sōsho* series (Yanagida 1974a). The Taishō canon copy of this text is based on a later Gozan edition. For convenience's sake, I will be citing the *Guzunsu yulu* edition found in the *Dainihon zokuzōkyō* (ZZ119). For the above quote in the *Wujia yulu*, see Yanagida 1974a: 176. For the Taishō equivalent, see T47.1988.553.a29-b1. For more information on this text, see also Shiina 1993a: 542 and App 1994.

[47] Yanagida 1976: 627; T51.2076.404c14-16. See also ZZ 138.302b18-303a3.

[48] Although Shenshan Sengmi 神山僧密 (d.u.) and Dongshan were fellow disciples of Yunyan Tansheng 雲巌曇晟 (780-841), Dongshan frequently referred to the former as Uncle Mi (Mi shibo 密師伯).

The master said, "Upon receiving a question from you, Uncle, I have completely died."

Shenshan said, "Who teaches about mind and nature?"

The master said, "Life was wrested from the midst of death."[49]

Throughout the various recorded sayings and records of the transmission of the lamp one can readily notice the traces of a distinctive form of double bind that consists of the ethical imperative, on the one hand, to reveal the absolute (*paramārtha*) in conventional (*saṃvṛti*) language ("death") and, on the other hand, to suppress the concomitant urge to collapse the former into the latter ("life").[50] The same double bind, I believe, is at work in the anecdote above. By catching Dongshan off guard and forcing him to reveal *that which is taken for granted but cannot be directly revealed* (i.e., he who teaches about mind and nature) Shenshan slyly reminds Dongshan that this public secret,[51] as it were, must be articulated

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[49] Yanagida 1974a: 127; cf. T47.1986B.521b20-23. I disagree with some parts of William Powell's translation of this passage; see Powell 1986: 36. Dongshan's recorded sayings first appeared as part of the *Wujia yulu*. When citing texts from this collection I will refer to this edition published by Yanagida Seizan in his *Zengaku sōsho* series (Yanagida 1974a).

[50] As there are already a number of excellent studies on the two truths and Chan, I will not delve into the issue any further here. See especially Faure 1991: 53-78. Although some buddhologists tend to describe the relationship between the two truths as dialectic, the way in which the tension between the two truths is specifically played out in encounter dialogues leads me to believe that their relation *in this specific context* is better understood as a form of double bind. The anthropologist Gregory Bateson also describes the logic of the encounter dialogue as a double bind; Bateson 2000: 208. Needless to say, I agree with Bateson's reading, but I will be using the double bind to refer not to the latent structure of the encounter dialogues as the way in which men like Yuanwu thought was the proper relation between the student and these dialogues (more on this later). Perhaps the most classic example of such a double bind is that of a man up in a tree from the *Wumenguan*. To wit,

> Master Xiangyan said, "It's like a man up in a tree, hanging from a branch by his mouth. His hands and feet cannot touch any branch, and his feet will not reach the trunk. Someone under the tree asks him what Bodhidharma intended when coming from the West. If he doesn't answer, he does not live up to the challenge. *If he answers, he loses himself and his life*. What should he do in this situation?" (emphasis mine, App 1994; cf. T48.293c1-4 and Hirata 1969: 33).

[51] Other famous examples of this public secret include, "what is the Way?", "what is the Dharma?", "what is the mind?", "what is the intent behind the Patriarch's coming from the West?", "does a

more precisely but cannot be revealed so directly. In lieu of showing his sign of approval as expected, Shenshan accordingly offers no explicit judgment on the innocuous remark proffered by the latter.[52] However, when Dongshan promptly admits to his defeat and acts as if Shenshan's rhetorical query had wittily revealed that there was in fact no one "who teaches about mind and nature" ("death"), Shenshan surprisingly repeats his query and once again forces Dongshan to articulate the identity of this person ("life"). Shenshen thus leaves no room for hasty and inconclusive assumptions—Dongshan must eventually expose the public secret for himself without relying on such notions as the existence and non-existence of the person who teaches about mind and nature. A skillfully deployed query, therefore, not only has the power to foster the double bind to which I refer but may also serve as a catalyst for its eventual resolution. Queries, however, were not the only available means of accomplishing this feat.

Scattered throughout the *Blue Cliff Record* we also find the notion of wresting life from death used strategically by Yuanwu to describe other ways of demonstrating the same double bind.[53] In case four, for instance, Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780-865) is said to have paid a visit to the Chan master Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (771-853) and addressed the latter as "reverend" (*heshang* 和尚).[54] As Guishan reached for his whisk, Deshan immediately gave out a preemptive shout and abruptly left Guishan. In his prose

dog have buddha nature or not?" and so on. Poceski calls this Chan's "insider talk" (Poceski 2004: 71).

[52] Far more common, as we shall see, is the example of a master who exposes the confusion in a student's question or request for that which is taken for granted but cannot be directly revealed. This, I might add, is an old dialogic style that is borrowed from *prajñāpāramitā* and other related texts; see also Sharf 2002: 42-43.

[53] Although Yuanwu is not the actual author of the *Blue Cliff Record*, there is evidence to suggest that the recorded commentaries are his. According to the postscript by Yuanwu's disciple Guan Wudang, Yuanwu was asked on three different occasions for a clarification on the *Xuedou heshang baize songgu* (see n. 3) by his disciples. Wudang himself notes that the teachings differed each time, but also underscores the fact that the general purport remained the same (T48.2003.224b13). The disciples' notes were gathered and edited together after Yuanwu's death for publication as the *Blue Cliff Record*.

[54] The following is a summary of case four; see T48.2003.143b4-20. Cf. Cleary and Cleary 1992: 22-23.

commentary, Yuanwu claims that Deshan thereby "wrested life from the midst of death."[55] Hitting (*bang* 棒) and shouting (*he* 喝), as Yuanwu himself was quick to point out, are undoubtedly some of the most famous and ubiquitous motifs in Chan recorded sayings.[56] Here, in the case of Deshan and Guishan, the shouting technique is put into use to bring the aforementioned double bind into relief. In brief, having received a formal request for the truth ("Reverend!"), Guishan attempts to adroitly force Deshan to know for himself *that which is taken for granted but cannot be directly revealed* by simply raising a whisk (a traditional signal for the master's delivery of the truth from the platform), but Deshan deftly avoids making any hasty assumptions about the existence, non-existence, or ineffability of the truth ("death") by way of a preemptive shout ("life").[57]

An exceptionally fine example of the relation between hitting and "death" can be seen in case twenty.[58] In this case, Longya 龍牙 (835-923) asks Touzi's teacher Cuiwei

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[55] T48.2003.144b27-28; cf. Cleary and Cleary 1992: 29.

[56] Hitting a student before he can say anything or any more than he already has said is a common motif in encounter dialogues. According to Yuanwu, Deshan Xuanjian (although he depicted as performing a shout in the above case) is said to have been particularly famous for his blows and Linji Yixuan for his shouts (T48.2003.148c28). The shout seems to have been a method of taking a preemptive strike at the dualism that is implied in the question itself. For references, see Buswell 1987, 364 n. 51.

[57] The authenticity of a shout seems to have to always been a matter of serious concern. A good case in point is Case Ten of the *Blue Cliff Record*. According to this case, a monk once replied to a Chan master's seemingly innocuous question with a shout. The master reminds the monk that he has shouted once before and implicitly urges him to produce another response. The monk fails to do so and the master calls him an imposter or fake. See T48.2003.150a23-29; cf. Cleary and Cleary 1992: 66. In his prose commentary to this case, Yuanwu also mentions Xinghua Zunjiang's 興化存獎 (830-888) warning against random shouting: "I see all of you shouting in the east hall and shouting in the west hall. But you should not shout indiscriminately and randomly. You can shout me up to the heaven of the thirty-three, but I will come back down without a single breath left. Wait for me to come back to life and I will tell you that it's still not enough" (T48.2003.150c2-5; I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 69). Yuanwu also reproduces the following words of Xinghua's teacher Linji: "I've heard all of you imitate [*xue* 學] my shouting. But I ask you, if a monk comes from the east hall and another monk comes from the west hall, and they both shout at once, which one is the guest and which on is the host? If you can't distinguish host and guest, then you must not imitate me any more after this" (Cleary and Cleary 1992: 69; cf. T48.2003. 150c7-10). I will have more to say about this case later.

about the "the intent behind the Patriarch's coming from the West" (*zushi xilai yi* 祖師西來意). In lieu of a straightforward explanation of *that which is taken for granted but cannot be directly revealed* (i.e., the Patriarch's intent), Cuiwei hits Longya with a meditation crutch (*chanban* 禪板) and forces the latter to figure it out for himself. When Longya asks Chan master Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867) the same question he is hit again. Longya, however, fails to comprehend the meaning of the blows and on both occasions hastily concludes that, although he has allowed both masters to hit him, "there was no intent behind the Patriarch's coming from the West" (*wu zushi xilai yi* 無祖師西來意). An interlineal note describes the first blow in the following manner: "Got him! [But] what is accomplished by hitting a dead fool? He [i.e. Cuiwei] too has fallen into second-class."[59] The second blow is similarly described in the following manner: "Got him! [But], alas, he [i.e. Linji] hits this dead fool and comes out of the same mold."[60] Presumably, what this means is that Longya, Cuiwei, and Linji all made the same false assumption, namely that the Patriarch's intent cannot be revealed because it does not exist (i.e., "there was no intent behind the Patriarch's coming from the West"). Showing his disapproval of this conclusion, Yuanwu likens it to "making stratagems for life in the households of ghosts" (*guikuli zuo huoji* 鬼窟裏作活計).[61] Life, in other words, has been obscured by stratagems (i.e., the existence, nonexistence, or ineffability of the Patriarch's intent) and has yet to be attained. That is to say, Longya, Cuiwei, and Linji have yet to know the Patriarch's intent for themselves.

In his verse commentary, Xuedou Chongxian (on whose case collection the *Blue Cliff Record* is based) also refers to Longya as someone stuck in "dead water" (*sishui* 死

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[58] T48.2003.160a20-b2. In my discussion of this case, I shall borrow liberally from Clearly and Cleary 1992: 129-138.

[59] 著, 打得箇死漢濟甚事, 也落在第二頭了也 (T48.2003.160a23). For "second-class" (*di er tou* 第二頭), see Iriya and Koga 1991: 294-295. Iriya and Koga actually use the term *gote* 後手 or "the second move." Iriya and Koga also note that in certain contexts the same term can mean "conventional [truth]" (*di er yi* 第二義). Both meanings may be at work in Yuanwu's interlineal note.

[60] 著、可惜打這般死漢、一模脱出 (T48.2003.160a28).

[61] T48.2003.160b1.

水). Expanding upon this metaphor, Yuanwu similarly claims that Longya "did not seek function in living water, but took himself into dead water and made stratagems for life."[62] Lest Longya's efforts go unrecognized, however, Yuanwu also notes in his prose commentary that Longya's seemingly hasty conclusion was actually "medicine dispensed to suit the illness" (*yingbing yu yao* 應病與藥).[63] It was, in short, a compassionate demonstration of *upāya*. Yuanwu even adds this important caveat: Longya was only acting as an elder (*zunshu* 尊宿) in the Caodong lineage, a lineage that traditionally emphasized tranquility and "death."[64] Had he been a disciple of Deshan or Linji, Yuanwu claims, "he would have had to know that there is also life."[65]

Even more telling, perhaps, is case eighty-one.[66] According to this case, a monk once asked Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 (751?-834?) how one can shoot "the elk of elks" (*lu zhong lu* 鹿中鹿) in a herd of elk and deer (i.e., how to point directly to the mind). In reply, Yaoshan is known to have said, "look, an arrow" (*kanjian* 看箭)! The monk then fell to the ground and played dead. When Yaoshan subsequently asked his attendant to "drag this dead fellow out" (*shichu zhe sihan* 施出這死漢) the monk immediately left. As recorded in the actual case, Xuedou is said to have offered the following appraisal of the monk's actions: "Though he lived for three steps, after five steps he had to die."[67] Presumably, life here refers to the monk's request for *that which is taken for granted but cannot be directly revealed* (i.e., the mind) and death to his hasty assumption that (the ineffability or

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[62] 他不向活水處用, 自去死水裏作活計 (T48.2003.161a1-2).

[63] T48.2003.160b8. Yuanwu also contends, for instance, that "his words were not spoken in vain, that his effort was not expended haphazardly; they issued from his doing his work" (Cleary and Cleary 1992: 132; cf. T48.2003.160c11-12).

[64] T48.2003.161a11-12.

[65] 若是德山臨濟門下, 須知別有生涯 (T48.2003.161a12). I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 134.

[66] The following is a summary of case eighty-one; see T48.2003.207b11-19. Cf. Cleary and Cleary 1992: 443.

[67] 三步雖活五步須死 (T48.2003.207b16-17). I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 443.

nonexistence of) the mind has been directly revealed by Yaoshan's whimsical reply.[68] Indeed, in Yuanwu's interlinear gloss to this case, the monk's playful response to Yaoshan's reply is explained in terms of death: "having died once he does not come back to life."[69] His abrupt departure at the end, on the other hand, is explained in terms of life: "Inside the coffin he opens his eyes and wrests life from the midst of death."[70]

We also find the same expression in case eighty-four, which concisely recapitulates a famous exchange between Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī.[71] Assuming that its reader is already familiar with the story, the case begins directly with Vimalakīrti asking Mañjuśrī the following question: "What is a bodhisattva's entrance into the teaching of nonduality?" Mañjuśrī, as expected, offers an elegant answer and then returns the question to Vimalakīrti. According to the widely read *sūtra* that bears his name, Vimalakīrti is known to have simply remained silent when questioned by Mañjuśrī,[72] but surprisingly the *Blue Cliff Record* does not repeat this part of the story. Instead, what we find is this rhetorical question from Xuedou: "What *did* Vimalakīrti say?"[73] (We must, in other words, look beyond the simplistic interpretation of silence as sign of ineffability.) In his verse commentary, Xuedou offers this seemingly contradictory reading of the layman's famous response: "At that time, he immediately leans and falls; [then again] he does not lean and fall."[74] Under Xuedou's latter comment (i.e., "he does not lean and fall"), we also

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[68] Again, like the cases above, Yaoshan's ambiguous reply forces the monk to make sense of the mind for himself.

[69] 一死更不再活 (T48.2003.207b13). I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 443.

[70] 棺木裏瞠眼死中得活 (T48.2003.207b15). I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 443.

[71] The following is a summary of case eighty-four; see T48.2003.209b21-c3. I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 459-460.

[72] T14.475.551c. Cf. Watson 1997: 110 and Lamotte 1962: 301-318.

[73] 維摩道什麼 (T48.2003.209b29).

[74] 當時便靠倒不靠倒 (T48.2003.210a6-7). I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 462.

find this interlineal gloss: "He wrests life from death; there is still some breath in him."[75] Although many, according to Yuanwu, believed that Vimalakīrti's silence (*wuyu* 無語) was simply an admission of his failure to respond to Mañjuśrī's challenge and hence a sign of his defeat ("he leans and falls"),[76] both Xuedou and Yuanwu contend that this was certainly not the case ("he does not lean and fall").[77] Furthermore, according to Yuanwu, "Xuedou pushes you up onto a ten thousand *ren*-high[78]steep cliff but then says, 'he does not lean and fall'—with one hand he lifts you up and with one hand he pushes you down."[79] Vimalakīrti's silence, in other words, not only signifies his own death and return to life but, with the help of Xuedou's interpretation, ours as well.

There were, as we can see, many ways of staging a double bind wherein the absolute had to be revealed *with* conventional language and yet not consist *of* conventional knowledge. In fact, one of the many functions of the encounter dialogue, *or so exegetes such as Xuedou and Yuanwu would have us believe*, seems to have been precisely that, namely to demonstrate "classical"[80] techniques of conventional revelation (e.g. the query, the shout, the whimsical gesture, and silence) that made it impossible for one to either reduce this knowledge to any particular revelation or, conversely, to posit an absolute (experience or

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[75] 死中得活猶有氣息在 (T48.2003.210a7). I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 462.

[76] T48.2003.210b5-7. Cf. Cleary and Cleary 1992: 462. Yuanwu's claim is somewhat doubtful given Vimalakīrti's rather obvious role within the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the long history of exegesis on this scripture, and the frequent use of silence in Buddhist texts as a rhetorical strategy.

[77] Xuedou and Yuanwu are by no means unique in this respect. As Peter N. Gregory notes, the Huayan 華嚴 exegete Fazang 法藏 (643-712) had, for instance, already made a qualitative distinction between the scores of bodhisattvas who, in the same passage from the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa*, merely "spoke about" (*shuo* 說) the dharma of nonduality and Vimalakīrti who "revealed" (*xian* 現) it; Gregory 1991: 138. More on this later.

[78] One *ren* 仞 is approximately eight feet.

[79] 雪竇拶到萬仞懸崖上、一手擡一手搦 (T48.2003.210b7-8). I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 464.

[80] By "classical," I have in mind the romantic appellation "classical Chan" and literally the idea that these techniques represent the highest standard in a well-established practice.

intuition) beyond all forms of conventional revelation ("death"). However, as the uninitiated often tended to hastily accept what they thought was the very *impossibility* of revealing that which is taken for granted but cannot be directly revealed as the absolute itself ("death"), it was necessary for them to turn away, of their own accord, from this misunderstanding and once again establish the thin yet firm boundary between the conventional and absolute ("life"). The heart of the problem, the Song exegetes believed, lies in the tendency to hastily imitate the words and deeds of the ancient Chan masters ("death"), which the uninitiated could avoid or cure by making these words and deeds his or her own ("life").

While we can only speculate as to whether this double bind is indeed what Touzi and Yunmen had in mind when they attempted to explain how one can wrest life from the midst of death,[81] a stronger case, as I hope to further demonstrate, can be made for the application of this reading to Yuanwu's use of the metaphors of life and death. For now, however, I wish to make a simple observation that will prove to be critical for the purposes of this chapter: the metaphors of life and death were not only a favored topic of discussion among Chan masters in their encounter dialogues but had also become, as Yuanwu unequivocally demonstrates in his *Blue Cliff Record*, a handy interpretive frame for making sense of the whimsical queries, shouts, and silences that characterize this new subgenre.[82] (Throughout the rest of this study, we will concern ourselves only with the latter.) It was, perhaps, only a matter of time before these metaphors—these hallowed conduits for self-reflection—were, in turn, lifted out of this exegetical context and applied directly to the lived experiences and actions of actual human beings. This transition from being a metaphor used *in* and *about* encounter dialogues to the great death as a sort of

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[81] How much of Zhaozhou and Touzi's story derives from fact and how much of it derives from the imagination of the editors of encounter dialogue collections such as the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu* is almost impossible to determine.

[82] Again, whether or not the Chan masters featured in encounter dialogues had spoken of life and death as an interpretive frame or as a metaphor for particular doctrine (or perhaps both) is difficult to determine.

hermeneutics of self is crucial, I argue, in understanding the malady of meditation.[83] Before we delve further into this issue, however, let us first make a brief detour and try to establish when death became a "great" death and then determine more accurately what Yuanwu meant by returning to life.

Death: Not So Great After All

For reasons that are ultimately unclear, Zhaozhou came to be remembered as having spoken not of wresting life from the midst of death but of returning to life from a great death. We can only surmise that this happened either (1) because of the general tendency toward hyperbole or (2) because someone intentionally or inadvertently fused Zhaozhou's words with an independent doctrine that emphasized the notion of a "great death." There is, in fact, some evidence to support the latter hypothesis. To my knowledge, the earliest extant reference to a *great* death is found in Yongming Yanshou's 永明延壽 (904-976) *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡録 (A Record of the Mirror of the Tenet) compiled in 961. In fascicle thirty-three, Yanshou writes about the need for beginners to merge with true emptiness (*zhenkong* 眞空). To do so, Yanshou writes, he or she must follow the "movement of the mind" (*xinxing* 心行) and not the "speech from the mouth" (*koushuo* 口說; i.e., discursive knowledge or intellectualization). Each step, he tells us, must be taken with energy and "each thought should resonate with each other" (*niannian xiangying* 念念相應). Yanshou then writes, "like a man who has died the great death extraneous thoughts are forever cut off."[84] Yanshou does not, however, use this expression ever again in his voluminous (100 fascicles) magnum opus nor does he provide evidence that he was aware of the story of

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[83] I stress this distinction here because, otherwise, there is the tendency to associate the content (e.g. paradox) of the encounter dialogues and koans with the malady of meditation. While there is certainly some sort of connection, it must be borne in mind that it was not necessary for one to know the content of these dialogues and koans to succumb to the malady of meditation. More important in this respect was *how* one approached koans and what this attitude toward koans said about oneself. When I read the great death as double bind I am referring not so much to its function *within* koans as its function *with respect* to koans.

[84] 如大死人永絶餘想 (T48.2016.605c19).

Touzi's encounter with Zhaozhou.

The first case in which we find Zhaozhou speaking of a great death actually comes from the *Blue Cliff Record*. Since the *Blue Cliff Record* is ostensibly based on Xuedou's original collection of old cases one might expect to find a reference to Zhaozhou speaking of the great death in Xuedou's recorded sayings, but such a reference is nowhere to be found. Instead, Xuedou seems to have been familiar with a version of Zhaozhou and Touzi's story that is related, if not identical, to that from the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*. In a song dedicated to a certain elder by the name of Chongshou Huai 崇壽懷 (d.u.), Xuedou, for instance, sings, "When one wrests life from the midst of death, before [Zhaozhou] could even ask [how it is done], [Touzi says] he must not go by night; he must get there in daylight."[85] Given this quote and the lack of any reference to a great death in Xuedou's recorded sayings, it is difficult to credit Xuedou with the interpolation of the great death doctrine into Zhaozhou and Touzi's story. In sum, whatever its true origins may be, Zhaozhou's reference to the great death, I suspect, made its way into the *Blue Cliff Record* because a fusion between the doctrine and the story had occurred at some point in the eleventh century after Xuedou's passing and before the compilation of the *Blue Cliff Record*.[86]

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[85] 死中得活未輕詶、不許夜行投曉到 (Yanagida and Shiina 1999b: 96); see also T47.1996.710a28. Xuedou's song is preserved in fascicle six of the *Mingjue chanshi yulu* (first published in 1066), which along with fascicle five is known to have circulated independently under the title *Zuying ji* 祖英集 (A Collection of Patriarchs and Heroes). The preface to the *Zuying ji* tells us that it was completed in the first month of the year 1032 while Xuedou was still alive. A Gozan edition (1289) of the *Mingjue chanshi yulu* is currently housed at the Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫. I will be relying on the reproduction of this edition found in Yanagida Seizan and Shiina Kōyū's *Zengaku tenseki sōkan* 禅學典籍叢刊 series (vol. 2), but for convenience's sake I shall also refer to a copy of this text in the Taishō canon, which is based on a Ming edition. For a brief history of Xuedou's recorded sayings, see Yanagida 1981: 287-291, Nagai 1972, Shiina 1995, and Shiina 1999. For other extant copies of the above texts, see Shiina 1993a: 572-574.

[86] In fact, the *Blue Cliff Record* seems to be based on a new collection of Touzi's recorded sayings that was probably compiled after the *Original Collection*. Case seventy-nine of the *Blue Cliff Record*, for instance, conveys a dialogue led by Touzi that does not appear in any prior source. But, in the prose commentary on the great death koan, there are several dialogues attributed to Touzi that do appear in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Compare T48.2003.178c28-179a1 and T51.2076.319b3,

Let There Be Life

Be it just death or a great death, Zhaozhou was clearly more interested in the issue of what it meant to return to life from this death. In the following prose commentary (*pingchang* 評唱),[87] Yuanwu provides us with the larger intertextual matrix to which the notion of dying the great death and returning to life presumably belongs:

> Men [who have died] the great death are all devoid of the Buddha's dharma and truth, profundity and subtlety, gain and loss, right and wrong, and long and short. Arriving here (i.e., the great death), they just simply rest (*xiuqu* 休去) this way. An ancient one referred to this [by saying], "On the open ground (*pingdi* 平地) dead men are innumerable, but those who are able to pass through a thicket of thorns (*jingjilin* 荊棘林) are skilled hands."[88] Also necessary is the penetration to the other side and only then will one attain [awakening]. Be that

320a22-23. These dialogues, however, do not appear in the *Zutang ji*. The fusion of the great death doctrine and Zhaozhou and Touzi's story may have occurred within this new collection.

[87] Every "case" (*ze* 則) or koan in the *Blue Cliff Record* contains a "pointer" (*chuishi* 垂示), the case proper marked by the word "raised" (*ju* 擧), interlinear gloss (*zhuyu* 著語), prose commentary (*pingchang*), verse commentary (*songgu* 頌古), and another prose commentary on the verse.

[88] According to his recorded sayings, Yunmen is known to have uttered the following words: "On the open ground dead men are innumerable, but those who are able to pass through a thicket of thorns are skilled hands" 平地上死人無數、過得荊棘林者是好手 (ZZ 118.353b16-17; Yanagida 1976: 177; and T47.1988.554b22-23). In his translation of the *Blue Cliff Record*, Sueki Fumihiko also identifies the quote as Yunmen's; Sueki 2001-03: 134. Although a printed edition of Yunmen's recorded sayings seems to have been available at that time, Yuanwu probably heard these words from the mouth of his teacher Wuzu, who once offered a lecture on Yunmen's saying during a public ceremony known as "ascending the hall" (*shangtang* 上堂); T47.1995.653b6-10. Not surprisingly, these words also appear in Yuanwu's informal sermons (*xiaocan* 小參) and also, with some variation, in his head disciple Dahui Zonggao's *shangtang* lectures; see T47.1997.769c06-8 and T47.1998A.821a12-13. In fact, Yunmen's saying appears to have been a popular sermon topic favored by many masters of the time. The same words were chosen, for instance, by the famed Huanglong Huinan 黃龍惠南 (1002-1069) to be lectured upon during a *shangtang* ceremony; see T47.1993.631a6-9. Hongzhi Zhengjue is also known to have commented on the topic; see T48.2001.30b5-6.

A "skilled hand" (*haoshou* 好手) refers to a skilled swordsman or archer. For instance, according to case 43 of the *Blue Cliff Record*: "When the tip of two swords draw cross each other, there is no need to withdraw; a skilled hand is like a lotus in fire" 好手猶如火裡蓮 (T48.2003.180b3-4). See also Iriya and Koga 1991:131.

as it may, the arrival of the present day people in this general state (i.e., the great death) is already a difficult attainment. [However] if you rely on understandings (*jiehui* 解會), then there is no connection. Master Zhe referred to this as "a vision that is not pure and clean."[89] My late teacher Wuzu referred to this as "the life faculty has not been cut."[90] It is necessary to die a great death but then return to life; only then will one attain [awakening]. Master Yongguang of Zhejiang said, "The slightest miss of the tip of the [blade-like] words and home is ten-thousand miles away. You have to simply let go of your hands at a steep cliff. Of your own accord accept it as a matter of course. After [your life] has been cut you shall return to life again. You cannot be deceived. The extraordinary tenet, could anyone hide it?"[91] The meaning of Zhaozhou's

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[89] Sueki identifies Master Zhe as Dagui Muzhe 大潙慕哲 (d.1095). I have unable to locate his words, or even a variant, anywhere. See Sueki 2001-03: 134.

[90] The frequency with which this phrase appears in the mouths of other masters belies Yuanwu's attribution of the phrase to his teacher Wuzu Fayan. For instance, see *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T49.2035.416a4), *Fozu lidao tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (T49.2036.682c11), *Shisi qigulue* 釋氏稽古略 (T49.2037.877b26), *Da Ming gaoseng zhuan* 大明高僧傳 (T50.2062.923b25), and *Xu chuandeng lu* (T51.2077.615c9 and T51.2077.644b19). The phrase is frequently used as a proscription against an attachment to words and letters. It can also be seen in the writings of Dahui, Yuanwu's disciple; for instance, see *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (T47.1998A.874a16 and T47.1998A.937b19) and *Dahui's Arsenal* (T47.1998B.953a4). For "life faculty" (*jīvitindriya*), see Collins 1982: 228-230.

[91] Otherwise known as Chan master Zhen 真 of Yongguangyuan 永光院 (Permanent Light Cloister). Virtually nothing is known about this figure and his dwelling. He is known to have been the disciple of Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (d. 902); see T51.2076.360b25 and T58.2078.755c11, and also Sueki 2001-03: 134. Fortunately, however, a record of his teaching is found in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*:

> He ascended the hall and told the assembly: "The slightest miss of the tip of the [blade-like] words and home is ten-thousand miles away. You have to simply let go of your hands at a steep cliff. Of your own accord accept it as a matter of course. After [your life] has been cut you shall return to life again. You cannot be deceived. The extraordinary tenet, could anyone hide it?"
> 言鋒若差鄉關萬里、直須懸崖撒手、自肯承當、絶後再甦、欺君不得、非常之旨、人焉廋哉 (T51.2076.362a20-26).

Given the lack of variation, lapse of time, and scarcity of Yongguang's account, it seems almost undeniable that Yuanwu lifted these words verbatim out of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* or, perhaps, a common source.

query is like this.[92]

Yuanwu's commentary yields much information. First, we learn that the great death leads one to a state of absolute nonduality beyond understandings—a state, we may recall, that appears to be largely consistent with Yongming's "true emptiness." We also learn that dying the great death was no easy task. So difficult was this task of ceasing all dualistic thought that only an anxiety-ridden experience such as "letting go of one's hands at a steep cliff" (*xunyai sashou* 懸崖撒手; cf. Thompson Motif-Index J2611 & A985) could serve as a suitable metaphor.[93] Taking his cue from the great death koan, Yuanwu, unlike Yongming,[94] also emphatically claims that the great death must be accompanied by the subsequent return to life. To support his claim, Yuanwu turns to a number of authorities

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[92] T48.2003.179a4-14, cf. Cleary and Cleary 1992: 250-251. I borrow liberally from their translation of this passage.

[93] As one may readily glean from the eight references to this fixed phrase, *xuanyai sashou*, in Yuanwu's recoded sayings, the latter was clearly fond of the former. See, for instance, *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu* (T47.1997.723b28, 744b9, 761c11, 773b9, 776b20, 779a22, 788c7, 807a3). Similarly, Yuanwu's disciple Dahui showed a liking for this fixed phrase; see *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (T47.1998A.879c25, 883a23, 887b13). The phrase also appears in the writings of other contemporary and non-contemporary monks; see *Recorded Sayings of Hongzhi* (T48.2001.61a21), *Congrong Record* (T48.2004.266c1), *Wumen guan* (T48.2005.297b2), *Changuan cejin* 禪關策進 (Admonition to Advance through the Barrier of Chan; T48.2024.1104b27), and *Xu chuandeng lu* (T51.2077.521a5, 545a5, 649c21, 651c15). In one interesting instance, the phrase itself became a topic of query:

> A monk asked, "What is this phrase 'let go of your hands at a steep cliff?'
> The master said, "The bright moon illuminates the dark valley."
> The monk asked, "What is this phrase 'after [your life] has been cut you will be resurrected again'?"
> The master said, "The white clouds give birth to great vacuity" (T51.2077.521a4-6).

[94] This should not be construed to mean that Yongming was thus a radical iconoclast that showed no interest in gradual practice or "life." In fact, quite the opposite was the case. His discussion of the great death occurs in a lengthy reply to a question about the relation between the ineffable Way and the myriad texts of the Buddhist tradition. In his reply, Yongming makes use of an old rhetorical trick. He points out the implicit dualism (the Way and texts) within the question itself and chastises the questioner for his misunderstanding (or Hīnayāna-like understanding) of emptiness. See T48.2016.605a22-b7. Nevertheless, it is important to note that when Yongming spoke specifically of the great death and (true) emptiness he seems to have been unaware of a special need to emphasize life or the need to continue one's struggle within duality against the temptation of nonduality.

from the past.

First, Yuanwu turns to the ancient one Yunmen who characterizes death on what he calls the "open ground" as a relatively minor achievement. In contrast, Yunmen declares, only those who assume the difficult task of passing through a "thicket of thorns" can be properly called a "skilled hand." What does Yunmen mean by a "thicket of thorns"? In his commentary on a separate case (case ten), Yuanwu tells us that the monk Muzhou Daoming 睦州道明 (fl. 9 C.E.) "constantly uttered a word or half a phrase like a thicket of thorns that can't be stepped on or touched."[95] According to the actual case, when a certain monk attempted to touch Muzhou's "thicket of thorns" with a series of shouts Muzhou is said to have exposed the monk to be a fake.[96] Apparently, it was not enough to die and then rest content with a shout (i.e., imitate a classical gesture). For, as Muzhou asks, "After three or four shouts, then what?" To *this* thicket of thorns, the monk had no reply.

Next, Yuanwu warns his audience of the trappings of false understandings, to which in reference his teacher Wuzu used to say "the life faculty has not been cut." As Yuanwu explains elsewhere,[97] "to cut the life faculty" (*minggen duan* 命根斷) means to "clean up past views and various understandings."[98] Then, he continues, "like a man who has died the great death and come back to life there shall naturally be no [room for] dispute."[99] But there is more. In this same passage, Yuanwu also mentions Yunmen's above teaching and contends, surprisingly, that to pass through the thicket of thorns does not yet make one, as he maintains, a skilled hand.[100] For, beyond the thicket of thorns

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[95] T48.2003.150b3-4. I borrow liberally from Cleary and Cleary 1992: 67.

[96] See case ten of the *Blue Cliff Record* (T48.2003.150a23-29); cf. Cleary and Cleary 1992: 66.

[97] The following is from the *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu*; see T47.1997.769 passim.

[98] 打疊從前知見種種解會 (T47.1997.769b26-27).

[99] 似大死底人活得起來自然無諍 (T47.1997.769b27- 28).

there also lies "silver mountains and iron walls" (*yinshan tiebi* 銀山鐵壁) and beyond that "a man who is a thousand times clear and a hundred times right" (*qianliao baidang de ren* 千了百當底人).[101] There are, in other words, more "matters to go beyond" (*xiangshangshi* 向上事) and thus little or no room for facile notions of rest or for attachment to understandings.[102]

Finally, Yuanwu directs our attention to master Yongguang. Immediately after citing Yongguang's teaching, Yuanwu contends, "the intent behind Zhaozhou's query is like this."[103] Similarly, Chan master Wansong Xingxiu also reproduces the same teaching in his prose commentary on the great death koan and claims, "Zhaozhou asked [Touzi] about this idea."[104] The "intent" or "idea" (*yi* 意) here is a deceptively simple one: It is necessary, as Yuanwu explains, to die a great death but then return to life. As we have seen, however, a bona fide death can only be wrought from razor sharp words like the inscrutable queries and shouts of ancient worthies (*gude* 古德) that cut right through false understandings. But death alone, we may recall, does not make one a skilled hand. For, at the end of the day, the authenticity of each death was anything but certain and hence in constant need of sharp reassessment.

There are, Yuanwu therefore suggests, more matters to "go beyond" (*xiangshang* 向上). According to Yuanwu, to go beyond is to pursue an ongoing engagement with deepening levels of impenetrable words, that is, with "thickets of thorns," "silver mountains and iron walls," and then "a man who is a thousand times clear

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[100] Yunmen's saying, according to Yuanwu, is useful at first for those who fall into "the deep pit of liberation" (*jietuo shenkeng* 解脱深坑); see T47.1997.769c5-6. But one must also be cautious, he adds, not to fall into "the place of do-nothing and nothing-to-do" (*wuweiwushi chu* 無為無事處); T47.1997.769c13-14.

[101] See T47.1997.769c8-10.

[102] See T47.1997.768c11.

[103] 趙州問意如此 (T48.2003.179a13-14).

[104] 趙州將此意問 (T48.2004.266c2). Wansong's commentary on the great death koan largely consists of the exchange between Touzi and his teacher Cuiwei, the story of Zhaouzhou's visit to Mt. Touzi, and a brief reference to Yongguang's teaching.

and a hundred times right." Depending on the spiritual capacity of the practitioner and the degree to which he or she is attached to understandings, we can certainly expect more to follow. What we have here, then, is nothing less than a model for a rigorous intellectual asceticism that is at once targeted against the realm of conventional language and yet rooted firmly within it. For the aspiring adept of Chan, the task at hand, then, was to master, not imitate or intellectually grasp (death), the words of the patriarchs and make them one's own (life).[105] What Yuanwu thus lays bare is the double bind that every would-be Chan master must face.

But how, indeed, could one be certain about the authenticity of his or her "death"? In death, is not the dualism of authentic and inauthentic death itself cut off? This conceptual hurdle, of course, did not prevent generations of thinkers from elaborating upon what they imagined this death to be like or what they purported to have experienced themselves. We have, for instance, already witnessed a handful of allied

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[105] Dale Wright similarly writes: "It is possible that the 'going beyond' doctrine in Zen is a product of the realization that the tradition had in fact changed in spite of its occasional claims to immutability. It is true that the expectation in the tradition was that 'transmission' would occur only at those points where each new Zen master had attained an 'original' experience—his or her own—rather than a replication of someone else's. The 'transcendence' that is 'transmitted' would not be a 'repetition' in the sense of a reduplication of historical precedence. It would instead repeat prior transcendence in that an 'original' experience is undergone. If the teacher's experience was his own, an original, so must the student's be in order to equal it" (Wright 1998: 152-153). As Wright also notes, a similar idea is articulated in Baizhang Huaihai's 百丈懷海 (749-814) entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. According to this entry, Baizhang is said to have told Huangbo: "If your 'awakening' is identical to that of your teacher, your power will be merely half of his. Only when you are capable of 'going beyond' your teacher will you have truly received the transmission" 見與師齊減師半德、見過於師、方堪傳授、子堪有超師之作 (Wright 1998:139). Curiously, Wright cites the Taishō edition of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* for this reference, but this reference appears neither in the Taishō or the Song edition from the *Sibu congkan*. It does, however, appear in the Koryŏ edition; see Yanagida 1976: 386a. The first person to underscore the importance of this reference was, as Wright notes (1998: 140 n. 5), Yanagida (see Iriya 1969: 166-167), but Yanagida does not cite the source of this reference. (Wright seems to have assumed that Yanagida was referring to Baizhang's entry in the Taishō canon.) It should also be noted here that Wright rightly distinguishes the notion of "going beyond" from Harold Bloom's claims about the "anxiety of influence" (Wright 1998: 156 n. 26).

Like Wright, I do think that the notion of "going beyond" should be understood in the context of the development of the encouter dialogue genre, but I would also like to add that the problem of imitation or influence may also be in part an extension of the use or (re-)enactment of encounter dialogues in rites such as "entering the room" (*rushi* 入室) and "ascending the hall" (*shangtang* 上堂).

metaphors (e.g. dwelling in a ghost cave, dead water, resting, cutting the life faculty, and letting one's hands go at a steep cliff) that attempt to do no less than give shape to this slippery referent known as death, which is (is it not?) but another metaphor. How successful or unsuccessful they were in doing so is beyond the purview of this study, but this will not prevent us from examining these metaphors more closely. What a closer look at these and other related metaphors will disclose is not only their impressive pedigree but also the fact that they are bound to a recurring interest in the tension between discursive knowledge and the ineffable Way.

Death, Ashes, Withered Trees, and Related Metaphors

For convenience's sake, let us once again turn to Yuanwu for a demonstration of the use of the various metaphors of "death." In the following letter to an unnamed "practitioner of chan" (*chanren* 禪人) Yuanwu attempts to explain the famous notion of "pointing directly to the mind of a person" (*zhizhi renxin* 直指人心) by relying once again on the familiar metaphors of great death, letting go of your hands at a steep cliff, and rest:

> [Bodhi]dharma came from the West and did not establish writings, letters, words, or phrases. He only pointed directly to the mind of a person. Were we to discuss "direct pointing," this is just what everybody originally has. Within the shell of ignorance essence (*ti* 體) is manifest in its entirety. Not even a single thread of its hair is different from that of all the sages of the past. It is the so-called truth of heaven (*tianzhen* 天眞), self-nature (*zixing* 自性), and the originally pure and marvelous clarity (*benjing miaoming* 本净妙明). It swallows up and spits out the ten directions. It alone has escaped from the senses and [the objects of] defilement. Only [this] single plot of land (*tiandi* 田地) transcends thoughts, cuts off emotions, and far surpasses everyday standards. With the power of your original lot (*benfen* 本分), accept the great faculty (*dagen* 大根) and great wisdom (*dazhi* 大智) directly from where you are [lit. "beneath the foundation of your feet"]. This is like *letting go of your hands at a steep cliff*, ten

thousand *ren* high,[106] and releasing your body without any further expectations. Escape from obstructions of understandings, views, and teachings of books. Like *a man of great death* who has already cut off his breath, arrive at the place of your original lot and take the *great rest* (*daxiu* 大休) and *great relaxation* (*daxie* 大歇). Your mouth, nose, eyes, and ears will at first not recognize each other. You hands and feet, nape and back, will not reach each other. Afterwards, in [this state of being like] *cold ashes* (*hanhui* 寒灰) and *dead fire* (*sihui* 死火) everything will be clear. Within this *withered tree* (*kumu* 枯木) and rotten tree every object will then become illuminated. You shall thereupon tally with the solitary and lofty [truth]. Never again will you need to seek the mind, seek the Buddha. Whatever you build, whatever you strike there is none that is not externally attained. The awakening that has since ancient times reached hundreds and thousands of permutations is just this mind. No longer will you have to look for the mind. [The mind itself] is the Buddha, why strive to seek the Buddha? If you write your *lubu*[107] with words and phrases and produce understandings about objects, then you will fall into a bag of curios and will never find what you are looking for. This is the realm of absolute truth, where illumination is cut off and thoughts are forgotten (emphases mine).[108]

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[106] One *ren* is approximately eight feet.

[107] A *lubu* 露布, literally "reveal-cloth," traditionally refers to an imperial edict or report of military success.

[108] T47.1997.779a16-b2 and ZZ120.719a9-b3. This letter, which I partially translate above, is found in the *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Yuanwu Foguo; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu*) compiled by his disciple Huqiu Shaolung 虎丘紹隆 (1077-1136) in 1133 and published in 1134. A Gozan reprint (1404) of the Song edition is currently housed at Seikidō bunko 成簣堂文庫 in Japan. The letter was also published as part of a larger collection known as the *Foguo Keqin chanshi xinyao* 佛果克勤禪師心要 (Chan Master Foguo Keqin's Essentials of the Mind) or simply *Yuanwu xinyao* 圓悟心要 compiled by Yuanwu's disciple Hongfu Ziwen 洪福子文 (d.u.). A Gozan reprint of the Song edition (1238) of the *Yuanwu xinyao*, which differs in length and content from its Ming counterpart, is currently housed at Tōyō bunko. The preface to this edition is dated 1145. Other Gozan editions of this text are currently housed at Dai Tōkyū kinen bunko 大東急記念文庫, National Diet library, and the Kunaichō 宮内庁

In this carefully drafted letter Yuanwu elaborates upon a notion familiar, no doubt, to all students of Chan, namely the mind as innate buddhahood. We find traces of this notion, for instance, in the influential *Platform Sūtra*, where the innate purity of the mind is likened to a luminous mirror.[109] The mirror, however, is not the metaphor that Yuanwu employs here to speak of the mind. Instead, Yuanwu likens direct pointing to the mind to, among other things, the "great death," "great rest," "great relaxation," "cold ashes," "dead fire," "withered tree," and the experience of "letting go of your hands at a steep cliff."[110]

(Imperial Household Agency). When citing the *Yuanwu xinayao* I shall refer to the Ming edition reproduced in the *Dainihon zokuzōkyō* (ZZ120). For an alternative English translation of the above letter, see Cleary and Cleary 1994: 41-43. For a useful summary of Yuanwu's work, see Hsieh 1993: 46-57.

109 For the mirror metaphor, see the excellent articles by Paul Demiéville, R. A. Stein, and Luis Gómez in Gregory 1987. The *locus classicus* for this metaphor in China is the alleged poetry contest between Shenxiu 神秀 (606?-706) and Huineng 惠能 (638-713) in the *Platform Sūtra*.

110 Elsewhere Yuanwu states that the ancient worthies suggested "directly resting and relaxing" (*zhixia xiuqu xiequ* 直下休去歇去) as a way of preventing the dualism of subject and object and, concomitantly, the attachment to karmic conditions and defilements; see ZZ120.751b14-15. In the following informal sermon (*xiaocan*) Yuanwu also offers what is perhaps the most detailed and edifying explanations of death and the related metaphor of relaxation:

> I also say, "how do you produce relaxation (*xie* 歇)?" You have to *simply let go of your hands at a steep cliff* and abandon [your] body and [heavenly endowed] existence (*ming* 命). Abandon [what you have] seen, heard, realized, and know. Abandon *bodhi*, *nirvāṇa*, true thusness, and liberation. Be it purity or impurity simultaneously abandon them both. Cause the teachings to become bare-nakedly pure (*jingluoluo* 淨裸裸) and constantly exposed (*chisasa* 赤灑灑). Naturally, you shall hear one thing and awaken to a thousand. *From this, simply as a matter of course, you shall return* and observe (*guan* 觀) that [you] yourself and the place of the function (*yong* 用) of the buddhas and patriarchs are neither two nor different. Everything from the four classes of people (i.e., scholars [*shi* 士], farmers [*nong* 農], artisans [*gong* 工], and merchants [*shang* 商]) frantically engaging each other in trade and sale in the middle of a noisy market up to and including the sound of the wind and the chirping of the bird are all not different from you yourself. Afterwards, the Buddha and the sentient beings will become one, afflictions (*kleśa*) and *bodhi* will become one, the mind and its objects will become one, brightness and darkness will become one, right and wrong will become one, and up to and including the thousand differentiations and ten thousand differences will all become one (emphases mine; T47.1997.773b9-17).

Here, according to Yuanwu, to die the great death is to abandon all dualities including that between mundane life and *bodhi*, nirvana, or liberation.

Yuanwu was certainly not the first Chan figure to employ these metaphors. That attribution is usually given to the Chan master Shishuang Qingzhu 石霜慶諸 (807-888), who Yuanwu himself points out used to "advise people to rest and relax like the incense burner in an old shrine."[111] According to the biography of Shishuang's disciple Jiufeng Daoqian 九峰道虔 (d. 921) in the Chan anthology *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (The Five Lamps Meet at the Source), Shishuang had indeed used these and other metaphors to instruct his assembly.[112] When asked to defend his rise as abbot, Jiufeng proclaimed that only one possessing Shishuang's intentions (*yi* 意) is qualified to do so. Jiufeng then described his teacher's intentions (and hence his own) as follows:

> Relax (*xiuqu* 休去) and rest (*xiequ* 歇去), as if cold and damp (*leng jiaojiao di qu* 冷湫湫地去), as if there is only a single thought for ten thousand years (*yinian wannian qu* 一念萬年去), like cold ashes and withered trees (*hanhui kumu qu* 寒灰枯木去), like an incense burner in an ancient shrine (*gumiao xianglu qu* 古廟香爐去), and like a strip of soft white silk (*yitiao bailian qu* 一條白練去).[113]

Although others also credit Shishuang with these metaphors,[114] there are reasons to maintain a healthy skepticism with regards to this attribution. There is, for instance, the relatively late date of the *Wudeng huiyuan*'s compilation in 1252 and the absence of any reference to the above story in either Shishuang or Jiufeng's biography from the earlier Chan anthologies *Zutang ji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*. In fact, no one before the Song mentions Shishuang's name in connection with these metaphors.

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[111] 勸人休去歇去、如古廟裏香爐去. See T47.1997.776b24.

[112] Shishuang's students were known more commonly as the "withered tree assembly" (*kumuzhong* 枯木衆). They were called such for their long periods of sitting without lying down (*changzuo buwo* 長坐不臥). See T51.2076.321a25.

[113] ZZ 138.193b2-4. See also Schlütter 1998: 284.

[114] For instance, see *Xifang helun* 西方合論 (Collected Treatises on the Western Land; T47.1976.413b12), the *Guzunsu yulu* (ZZ118.119b8, ZZ 118.730a1, ZZ118.931b10), and *Liandeng huiyao* (ZZ136.663a9).

Be that as it may, there is little doubt that these metaphors had been in use for quite some time. The use of ashes and withered trees as metaphors of a particular state of the mind and body in Chinese Buddhist texts seem to be much older dating as far back as the seventh century. In an influential commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* by the Sanlun 三論 scholar Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), for instance, it is stated that in meditation (or *samādhi*) "the body should be like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes."[115] Similar statements are scattered throughout the Buddhist canon.[116] This is undoubtedly due in large part to the fact that dead ashes and withered trees were used as metaphors for "losing oneself" (*sangwo* 喪我) and having "no mind" (*wuxin* 無心) in the influential Chinese classic *Zhuangzi*.

In a particularly influential chapter from the *Zhuangzi* entitled "The Discourse on Evening Things Out" (*Qiwulun* 齊物論), for instance, we are told of Nanguo Ziqi 南郭

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[115] 身同枯木心若死灰 (T34.1721.469b4). In this passage, Jizang is commenting upon the term "*samādhi* of the abode of immeasurable doctrine" (*wuliang yichu sanmei* 無量義處三昧, *anantanirdeśapratiṣṭhānasamādhi*) from Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Scripture of the Lotus Flower of the Sublime Dharma); see T9.262.2b9-10 and Hurvitz 1976: 3. Jizang's full explanation of this *samādhi* is as follows: "Question: Before [the scripture] mentions a Scripture of Immeasurable Doctrine (*Wuliang yi jing* 無量義經), why do you now call it a *samādhi*? Answer: illuminating and yet constantly serene; this is called meditation (*ding* 定). Serene and yet constantly illuminating; this is called wisdom (*hui* 慧). Wisdom externally expressed is called scripture. Internal quietude perfected is called meditation. The body and mind unmoving is perfected in two ways. [First] with the unmoving body one perfects the uprightness of the body. [Second] with the unmoving mind one perfects the quietude of the mind. The perfected man embodies the mark of truth (*shixiang* 實相) and yet has body and mind. Only a body that is not body is a body that does not move. Only a mind that is not mind is a mind that does not move. Therefore, the body should be like a withered wood and mind like dead ashes" (T34.1721.469a27-b4).

[116] In addition to the examples examine above, see *Weimojing lueshu* 維摩經略疏 (Abbreviated Commentary on the Vimalakīrti Sūtra; T38.1778.611c05), *Qixin lun shu bixueji* 起信論疏筆削記 (Critical Remarks on the Awakening Faith Treatise Commentary; T44.1848.401b11), *Shishi qigulue* 釋氏稽古略 (Abbreviated Investigation of Old Records on the Śākyas; T49.2037.895c18), *Gaoseng zhuan* (T50.2059.396b28), *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks; T50.2060.482a12, 605a12, and 642c22), *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 (Collection of Old and Current Tracts of the Buddhists and Daoists; T52.2104.394b28) among others.

子綦 who, having lost his self,[117] gazed upward at the sky, absent-mindedly, while leaning on his armrest. Laying his eyes upon Ziqi, Yancheng Ziyou 顏成子游 is said to have exclaimed: "Can the frame really be made to be like withered wood, the mind like dead ashes?"[118] In another anecdote from the *Zhuangzi* concerning none other than the two

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[117] The interpretation of *wu sang wo* 吾喪我 ("I lost me" or "I have lost myself") has been a subject of a controversy. At the heart of this controversy is the first description of Nanguo Ziqi that appears at the beginning of the *Qi wu lun*: He reclined on his armrest, looked up at the sky and exhaled, in a trance "as though he had lost the counterpart of himself" (*si sang qi ou* 似喪其耦); Graham 1981: 48. The rendering of *ou* 耦 as "counterpart" or "mate" (*peipi* 配匹) and thus as a phonetic loan for *ou* 偶 follows Guo Xiang's 郭象 (252?-312) reading in his commentary on the *Zhuangzi*; Guo 1961: 43. In order to explain what the text means by losing one's counterpart, Guo Xiang refers to the notion of "releasing from the body" (*jieti* 解體). The Qing commentator Yu Yue 俞樾 disagrees with Guo's rendering on the grounds that it does not accord with Nanguo Ziqi's own admission that he had lost his self and not his counterpart. Instead, Yu suggests reading *ou* as "lodge" (*yu* 寓), which is closer to Guo's own interpretation of *ou* as body. As Yu explains, the spirit is "lodged" in the body, so the body is called "lodge"; Guo 1961: 44. He thus agrees with Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306) who suggests the interpretation of *ou* as "body" (*shen* 身) but not with the latter's other suggestion that *ou* could also be read as the combination of mind and body; Guo 1961: 44. The Tang commentator Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (ca. 600- ca. 660) is in agreement with the latter suggestion according to which Nanguo Ziqi left both mind and body. A brief but very insightful discussion of the phonological underpinnings of this controversy can be found in West 2000.

[118] 形固可使如槁木、而心固可使如死灰乎; *Zhuangzi* 3/2/2, trans. Graham 1981: 48 (with some minor changes). See also Watson 1968: 36. Guoxiang's commentary on this passage reads as follows:

> Dead ashes and withered trees. They refer to [the state of] being soundless and without emotion. For those who let things be natural (*ziran* 自然) and forget right and wrong, they just entrust [themselves] to Heavenly truth (*tianzhen* 天眞) within their bodies. What else could they have? Therefore at rest they are like standing dried-up trees, and in movement like swaying withered branches; while sitting they are like dead ashes and walking like wandering dust. The appearance of movement and rest are things that I cannot make one. As for being mindless (*wuxin* 無心) and self-attained (*zide* 自得), these are things of which I cannot make two" (Guo 1961: 44; I borrow liberally from Cook 2003:82, n. 31).

Guo's commentary is said to be based on an earlier commentary by Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca. 221-ca. 300), which is now lost. The notion of being "self-attained" or "self-right" is an important element of Guo's philosophy. In brief, as Scott Cook aptly puts it, self-attained refers to the fact that different opinions can be "celebrated for their diversity and for the fact that each does what is appropriate to itself" (Cook 2003: 72). For a detailed analysis of Guo's philosophy, see Ziporyn 2003.

It should also be noted here that Yancheng Ziyou first asks *he ju hu* 何居乎 ("Wherein does [he] reside" or "What state [is this]"). Cheng Xuanying explains *ju* (lit. "dwell") here as a place

most celebrated intellectuals of China, Confucius (Kongzi 孔子) and Laozi (Lao Dan 老聃), we are told that the former saw the latter sit "utterly motionless as if non-human" (*zhi ransi feiren* 慹然似非人) and exclaimed: "Sir, your form and body seemed stiff as a withered tree, as though you had forgotten things, taken leave of men, and were standing in solitude itself!"[119] To this, Laozi is said to have replied, "I was letting my mind wander in the beginning of things."[120] In speaking of the perfection (*zhi* 至) of the art of preserving life (*weisheng* 衛生), Laozi is also recorded in the *Zhuangzi* as having said, "The baby acts without knowing what it is doing, moves without knowing where it is going; its body is like the limb of a withered tree, its mind like dead ashes."[121] Elsewhere the *Zhuangzi* also relates the following verse: "Body like a withered corpse (*gaohai* 槁骸), mind like dead ashes, true in the realness of knowledge, not one to go searching for reasons, dim dim, dark dark, mindless (*wuxin* 無心), you cannot consult with him, what kind of man is this?"[122]

Although it is highly unlikely that all these examples from the *Zhuangzi* were committed to writing by a single historical figure known as Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (or

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where one can peacefully situate oneself (*anchu* 安處), which in turn he describes as a state in which consciousness is frozen and silent (*shenshi yingji* 神識凝寂); Guo 1961: 44. According to Cheng, one thus renders his form indistinct (*bushu* 不殊) like a withered tree and his mind without distinctions (*wubie* 無別) like dead ashes, and from this state, he claims, all distinctions arise. For more on Cheng's interpretation of the *Zhuangzi*, see Yu Shiyi 1998.

119 向者先生形體掘若槁木，似遺物離人而立於獨也; *Zhuangzi* 55/21/24-25, trans. Watson 1968: 224-225 (with some minor changes).

120 吾遊心於物之初; *Zhuangzi* 55/21/26, trans. Watson 1968: 225.

121 兒子動不知所為，行不知所之，身若槁木之枝而心若死灰; *Zhuangzi* 63/23/41, trans. Watson 1968: 254 (with few modifications). "Since it is so," Laozi continues, "no bad fortune will ever touch it, and no good fortune will come to it either. And if it is free from good and bad fortune, then what human suffering can it undergo" (Watson 1968: 254)? Watson notes that a similar reference to a baby is also found in Laozi's *Daode jing* 道德經 LV.

122 形若槁骸、心若死灰、真其實知、不以故自持、媒媒晦晦、旡心而不可與謀、彼何人哉 (*Zhuangzi* 58/22/24); trans. Watson 1968: 237. A general comparison and analysis of the concept of no mind in the *Zhuangzi* and Chan literature can be found in Fukunaga 1969.

Zhuangzi),[123] at least by the time this text was redacted into its present form by Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca. 221-ca. 300) and/or Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312) in the third or fourth century dead ashes and withered trees appear to have been wielded with some consistency as metaphors for not having (a certain kind of) mind or self. But, if Ziyou and Confucius' bewilderment is any indication, this exceptional mental and physical state also appears to have been as difficult to fathom then as it is for us today. Fortunately, the *Zhuangzi* offers us further guidance. Speaking of the source of various mental states (e.g. joy, anger, grief, delight etc.) and worldly phenomena (e.g. day and night)—of the self, in other words—the *Qiwulun* claims, "without an other there would be no self, and without self there is no [ground] on which to take [the other]."[124] The *Qiwulun* also likens the various mental

[123] For a useful summary of and references to the current academic debate on the authorship of the *Zhuangzhi*, see Roth 1993.

[124] 非彼無我、非我無所取 (*Zhuangzi* 4/2/14-15). It is to Graham's (1969-1970) credit that we now better understand the commentarial nature of the *Qiwulun*. Graham has convincingly demonstrated that the *Qiwulun* employs technical vocabulary borrowed from the Mohist canon to critique the sophistry of those like Hui Shi 惠施 to whom the above paradox, "you set off for Yue today and got there yesterday," is attributed. Graham, for instance, cites the following examples: "disputation" or "debate" (*bian* 辯); "choose" or "one thing rather than another" (*qu* 取); "is"/"is not" or "that's it"/ "that's not it" (*shifei* 是非); and "it"/"other" (*shibi* 是彼) etc. Since the aim of the *Qiwulun*, according to Graham, is to demonstrate that judgments made with demonstratives (e.g. something "is" [*shi*] or "is not" [*fei*] a horse) are relative to the speaker's standpoint (i.e., what is *shi* for me is *fei* for you), it is imperative for the translator to remain consistent in translating these demonstratives; Graham 1969-1970: 142. As the *Qiwulun* itself puts it, "The Way is hidden by formation of the lesser, saying is darkened by its foliage and flowers. And so we have the 'That's it, that's not" of Confucians and Mohists, by which what is *it* for one of them for the other is not, what is *not* for one of them for the other is. If you wish to affirm what they deny and deny what they affirm, the best means is illumination" (Graham 1981: 52). Names, in other words, only have a conventional relation to objects. In those passages that require a more technical translation I have therefore relied on Graham's suggestions, but I often rely on Burton Watson's earlier, non-technical translation for its fluid and lucid rendering of the original text.

One must also keep in mind that the "original" context that the *Qiwulun* is attempting to address does not necessarily determine its reading. As Guo Xiang, for instance, tells us, *bi* ("other") in the above line refers to nature (*ziran*). According to Guo's reading, "nature gives rise to the self, the self rises from nature; therefore nature is the nature of the self" (Guo 1961: 56). Cheng Xuanying agrees. He also claims that *bi* refers to nature and suggests that "take" (*qu* 取) should be read more passively as "receive" (*bingshou* 稟受). Cheng thus renders the question as follows: "without nature who could produce the self and without the self who would receive nature?" (Guo 1961: 56).

states and worldly phenomena to "music that comes out of vacuity" (*yue chu xu* 樂出虛).[125] Or, as Ziqi elegantly puts it, "Blowing on the ten thousand things in a different way, so that each be itself—all take what they want for themselves, but who is it that rouses them forth?"[126] The self, if my reading of these passages is correct, is not simply absent or non-existent. Rather, it lacks variation and form like vacuity or wind (*feng* 風) and yet mysteriously produces and is produced by the myriad things of this world.[127]

The *Qiwulun* offers further clarification/qualification of its enigmatic declaration that "without an other there would be no self, and without self there is no [ground] on which to take [the other]":

> But I do not know what makes them the way they are. It would seem as though they have some True Master, and yet I find no trace of him. He can act—that is certain. Yet I cannot see his form. He has identity but no form. The hundred joints, the nine openings, the six organs, all come together and exist here [as my body]. But which part should I feel closest to? I should delight in all parts, you say? But there must be one I ought to favor more. If not, are they all of them mere servants? But if they are all servants, then how can they keep order among themselves? Or do they take turns being lord and servant? It would seem as though there must be some True Lord among them. But whether I succeed in discovering his identity or not, it neither adds to nor detracts from his Truth.[128]

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[125] *Zhuangzi* 4/2/14.

[126] 夫吹萬不同、而使其自己也、咸其自取、怒者其誰邪 (*Zhuangzi* 3/2/8-9); trans. Watson 1968: 37 (with some minor changes). I have also taken into consideration the translation provided in Cook 2003: 67. Here Ziqi is addressing Ziyou's question about the so-called "panpipes of Heaven" (*Tianlai* 天籟), to which Ziqi himself first refers as an explanation of his loss of self. Scott Cook cogently interprets Guo Xiang's views about the panpipes of Heaven as follows: "For Guo . . . the panpipes of Heaven is merely the general name for the self-so diversity of all the myriad things of existence" (Cook 2003: 72). For Guo's commentary on the panpipes of Heaven, see Cook 2003: 82, n. 35.

[127] Brook Ziporyn reaches a similar conclusion: "it has no sign or form, is identified with no one part or stage in the transformations, and yet it has its unmistakable functions" (Ziporyn 2003: 42-43).

The last line is undoubtedly the critical point that the *Qiwulun* wishes to convey in this passage: Irrespective of my knowledge of his identity the mind/self continues to function as the True Lord. Shortly after making this point, the *Qiwulun* likens life to a "muddle" (*mang* 芒) and continues with this rhetorical question: "How could I be the only muddled one, and other men not muddled?"[129] Being muddled does not, however, diminish the capacity of the mind to illuminate (*ming* 明) the Way. As the *Qiwulun* continues, "If a man follows the cultivated mind and makes it his teacher, then who can be without a teacher?"[130] But, the *Qiwulun* also reminds us, "to fail to abide by this mind and still insist upon 'that's it' and 'that's not it'—this is like saying that you set off for Yue today and got there yesterday."[131]

Scholars are still in disagreement as to how to interpret these passages from the *Qiwulun*. Can they, for instance, serve as evidence for a radical skepticism, as Chad Hansen argues, or are they indicative of a milder form of skepticism that targets the limits of a certain form of knowledge (that, for instance, assumes a rigid relation between names and their objects as in "that's it"/"that's not it")?[132] Some proponents of the latter position even contend that the *Qiwuilun* makes *constructive* arguments about the mind/self that expound upon a unique form of mystical experience.[133] Whatever the case may be, Zhuangzi's modern interlocutors, myself included, seem to be in agreement that he (or whoever wrote the *Qiwulun*) was a skeptic to some degree. It is important to keep in mind,

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[128] *Zhuangzi* 4/2/15-18, trans. Watson 1968: 38.

[129] 其我獨芒、而人亦有不芒者乎 (*Zhuangzi* 4/2/20-21); trans. Watson 1968: 38.

[130] 夫隨其成心而師之、誰獨且無師乎 (*Zhuangzi* 4/2/21); trans. Watson 1968: 38 (with some minor changes).

[131] 未成乎心而有是非、是今日適越而昔至也 (*Zhuangzi* 4/2/22); trans. Watson 1968: 39 (with some minor changes).

[132] This debate is too complex for me to summarize here. Representative work from this debate are Hansen 1983 and the articles in Kjellberg and Ivanhoe 1996. For Hansen's response, see Hansen 2003.

[133] See Roth 2003.

however, that he was by all means more than a skeptic. Apropos of his skepticism, I am inclined to agree with P. J. Ivanhoe's assessment that these passages from the *Qiwulun* must also be read as a form of "therapy, designed to curb our terrible tendency toward self-aggrandizement."[134]

As we have seen, for instance, the *Qiwulun* questions the tendency to simply describe the mind/self's relation to the body as that between a lord and her servant. As the *Qiwulun* reminds us, the mind/self—the source of all things—continues to act upon the world regardless of our knowledge of its identity. The same goes for one's knowledge of the world. As the famous parable of Cook Ding 庖丁 illustrates skillfully, sensory knowledge (*guanzhi* 官知) may in fact be what hinders the inscrutable mind/self from reaching perfection in what it does.[135] As Cook Ding himself tells us:

> What I care about is the Way, which goes beyond skill. When I first began cutting up oxen, all I could see was the ox itself. After three years I no longer saw the whole ox. And now—now I go at it by spirit and don't look with my eyes. Sensory knowledge has come to a stop and spirit moves where it wants. I go along with the natural makeup, strike in the big hollows, guide the knife through the big openings, and follow things as they are.[136]

The *Zhuangzi* thus suspends all knowledge and judgments about sensory objects including, of course, the mind/self itself—this might be as good a definition of "no mind" as any—and suggests, instead, that we act spontaneously, like a withered tree,[137] according to the Way.[138] Certain parts of this influential text, most notably the *Qiwulun*, even seem to

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[134] Ivanhoe 1996: 200.

[135] This is also how Guo Xiang understands the following passage; Guo 1961: 120.

[136] *Zhuangzi* 7/3/5-7; trans. Watson 1968: 50-51 (with some minor changes).

[137] A classic example of spontaneity from the *Zhuangzi* is the hunchback catching cicadas on his rod. The *Zhuangzi* likens his arms to a "withered tree"; see *Zhuangzi* 48/19/20. Another classic example is Laozi's baby whose body, we may recall, is like the limb of a withered tree.

go so far as to suggest that discarding conventional knowledge about sensory objects and thereby making all things even or equal (*qi* 齊) is synonymous with the Way.[139]

In short, what we seem to have in these and other passages from the *Zhuangzi* is a light-hearted attempt to grapple with the tension between the discursive and discriminating tendencies of knowledge and the impartial, ineffable Way.[140] It is precisely this tension that the *Zhuangzi* reproduces and hopes to eventually resolve by subjecting our conventional, knowledge-driven attitude towards sensory objects to "death." Whether the *Zhuangzi* was successful in doing so and how exactly this text and its interpreters like Guo Xiang carried out the resolution of this tension have been already subjected to meticulous critique by many others and will therefore be of no concern to us here.[141] What I wish to underscore, instead, are the following two points.

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[138] Robert Eno argues that the *Qiwulun* relies on two types of knowing—"practical or skill knowing and theoretical or fact knowing"; Eno 1996: 127. According to Eno, the *Qiwulun* associates practical knowing with the Way and criticizes theoretical knowing as a rigid and unresponsive artifice that blinds us to the world that surrounds us. Eno's interpretation of the term *dao* 道 ("Way") stands in sharp contrast to Hansen's reading in Hansen 1983. Certain passages from *Qiwulun*, however, seem to deny all forms of conventional knowing and suggest instead what for lack of a better word can be called a "mystical" understanding or knowing:

> Hence [within] divisions (*fen* 分) there is that which is not divided; [within] that which is debated (*bian* 辯) there is that which is not debated. Why, you ask? The sage embraces things. Ordinary men debate over them and parade [their debate] before others. So I say, those who debate fail to see. The Great Way is not named; Great Discriminations are not spoken; Great Benevolence is not benevolent; Great Modesty is not humble; Great Daring does not attack. If the Way is made clear, it is not the Way. Debating in words will not suffice. If benevolence has a constant object, it cannot be universal. If modesty is fastidious, it cannot be trusted. If daring attacks, it cannot be complete. These five are all round, but they tend toward the square. Therefore understanding that rests in what it does not understand is the finest (*Zhuangzi* 5/2/57-59, trans. Watson 1968: 44 with some minor changes).

[139] For instance, as the *Qiwulun* tells us, "Where it and other no longer find their opposites is called the pivot of the Way" 彼是莫得其 偶謂之道樞 (*Zhuangzi* 4/2/30-31).

[140] Impartial should not be construed to mean *indifferent* as in the case of radical skepticism.

[141] For a useful list of translations and secondary sources on the *Zhuangzi*; see Wilhelm (1983); Cook (2003): 291-295; and Kjellberg and Ivanhoe (1996): 215-225. Again, for Guo Xiang's work see Ziporyn 2003.

First, although the *Zhuangzi* clearly sets the stage for future generations to imagine a mind/self that is no longer encumbered by discriminatory knowledge ("death"), the same cannot be said of the ethical imperative to maintain the gap between ourselves and the Way ("life"). In the *Zhuangzi*, we simply do not find the sort of sustained interest in the potential dangers of "death" that we see in later Chan sources such as the *Blue Cliff Record*. "Death," in other words, was clearly a desired end in itself and its authenticity was simply taken for granted. Second, we must also note that the Way, for Zhuangzi, does not reside in the realm of convention or knowledge. Rather, the Way is to be found in the individual who, though muddled and unaware of his own identity, transforms his mind into dead ashes and body into a withered tree.[142] I emphasize these two points for the following reason: when these metaphors first appeared in an explicitly "Buddhist" context we shall see that there was little deviation from the way they were used in the *Zhuangzi*. Not only was there a lack of interest in "life"[143] but we also find the same, or perhaps even greater, emphasis on the individual as the locus of the Way.

Lost Name

Take, for example, the case of the noted exegete Zong Quedai 宗闕殆 (b. 516) whose tonsure name is simply known as Lost Name (*Wangming* 亡名):

> When I (*yu* 余) was fifteen [I] valued *wen* 文. At thirty, [I] came to respect influence and status. As [I] faced the destruction and chaos of the capital, the ruin of the officials, and the immanent death of all the intellectuals within the [four] seas, [I] said with a deep sigh, "Even those with the power to overturn Heaven and topple the sun can fade away in a short morning and the firm rocks of Mt. Tai can be burnt away in an instant. What [I] know for certain is that the form of this world is impermanent and that this floating life is empty and vain.

[142] For "individualism" in the *Zhuangzi*, see Graham 1985 and Berling 1985.

[143] Life, here, is not a metaphor for the material world in the Marxist sense of the term, but the gap between the conventional and the absolute. In fact, as the example of Cook Ding seems to demonstrate, the *Zhuangzi* did consider life to be the very field on which to realize the Way.

They are, so to speak, like the morning dew—how long could it possibly last? While alive the great man should subdue demons and when dead feed the tigers. If this is not possible, it will suffice to cultivate *dhyāna* and nourish the will, read scriptures and amuse oneself. Wealth and fame only run men down." [I] thereupon abandoned my title, cut my beard and hair, wore patched robes, [took up] a staff, listened to and discussed the mysterious (*xuan* 玄). The warring states have not yet reached peace and [I] have no place upon which to rely. [I] hate my own body (*xinggai* 形骸) even more than shackles and [I] have contemplated [the option of] cutting off the root of suffering, but I didn't know where to begin.[144] A Mahāyāna scripture says, "a man who acts in accordance with the teaching can be called a sage."[145] [This teaching] is not just that which is spoken with the mouth. A Hīnayāna *gātha* says, "To act [in accordance with] the teachings is proper. Without action what can be taught? If one can teach but not act, this cannot be called a wise man."[146] Take Yan Hui 顏回 who liked studying and worked diligently to fix what is wrong and Ji Lu 季路 who before he could put into practice [something he had heard] feared that he should be told something further.[147] The effort of struggling and disturbance of wisdom belabor the spirit and harm life. As the Way diminishes day by day what use is there of much knowledge? I vow to make by body like withered wood and my thoughts like dead ashes. I shall undo these worries and seek vacuous tranquility (*xuji* 虛寂)."[148]

[144] Or, literally, "[I] didn't know its port [of departure]."

[145] I have been unable to identify the source of this quote, but a similar statement does appear in Fazang's 法藏 (643-712) *Huyan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 (T35.1733.464c4).

[146] This is from the *Apitanpiposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (*Abhidharmavibhāṣā*[*śāstra*]) by Kātyāyanīputra; T28.1546.133c11-12.

[147] Yan Hui (or Yan Yuan 顏淵) and Ji Lu (or Ji Yu 季由, also known as Zilu 子路) were famous disciples of Confucius. For the comment on Zilu, see *Analects* V. 14.

The above account, recorded in the entry on Lost Name in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks),[149] is all that we have left of his now long lost work *Baoren ming* 寶人銘 (Inscription on Treasured Beings).[150] I reproduce the account in its entirety here because it is one of the earliest examples of the use of the metaphors of dead ashes and withered trees in an explicitly Buddhist context and also because it represents one of the earliest examples of Chinese Buddhist autobiography.[151]

Despite its obviously didactic purpose, Lost Name's autobiography provides us with a great deal of personal information. Transgressing the restrictions set by the tradition of Chinese historiography, we not only catch a rare glimpse of the interior life of a medieval Chinese intellectual in his unexpectedly candid complaint about the growing sense of alienation towards his own body, but we also learn that Lost Name was a student of the mysterious or Xuanxue 玄學 (otherwise known as Dark Learning), an intellectual movement that ostensibly "rediscovered" the *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, and *Yijing* 易經. We are also informed of certain historical conditions that led him to this movement and ultimately to his desire for spiritual transformation.

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[148] T50.2060.481c25-482a12. I borrow liberally from Livia Kohn's (née Knaul) partial translation of the same passage; Knaul 1986: 420-421.

[149] The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* was compiled by the monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) in the seventh century.

[150] A partial reproduction of the same work can be found in the encyclopedic work *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of the Dharma) completed in 668; T53.2122.653a23-b8.

[151] I shall have more to say about Chinese Buddhist autobiography in the next chapter. As for the metaphors, the only other instance in which we find dead ashes or withered trees used in an explicitly Buddhist context that predates our example from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* is the story of Huiwei 慧嵬 (fl. 4 C.E.), an exemplary practitioner of meditation (*xichan* 習禪), in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks) compiled by the monk Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) at the beginning of the sixth century. Huiwei's entry is relatively short, consisting largely of a story of his extraordinary ability to remain calm and detached in the face of various obstacles—a headless ghost, a ghost with no stomach, and temptress. Huiwei is said to have overcome the temptress by declaring that "my mind is like dead ashes; do not test me with a bag of flesh" 吾心若死灰無以革囊見試 (T50.2059.396b28-29).

Lost Name's official biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* furnishes us with more details that shed much needed light on these rapidly changing conditions. As his biography tells us, Lost Name once had a brilliant career under Emperor Yuandi 元帝 (r. 552-554) of the Liang dynasty, but he soon turned his back on the affairs of government and went into hiding when the dynasty collapsed in 557. What the biography does not tell us, however, is that years before its collapse the fate of the dynasty had actually been more or less sealed by the rebellion of Hou Jing 侯景, which brought the relative stability established by the cultural policies of Emperor Wudi 武帝 (r. 502-549) to an abrupt end. According to his biography, during these tumultuous times Lost Name is said to have become the student of a famous meditation specialist (*chanshi* 禪師) known as Dui 兑 from whom, we are to presume, he received tonsure and training in Buddhist practices. In addition to his study of the mysterious whence he probably learned of the metaphors of dead ashes and withered trees, [152] Lost Name is also known to have cultivated *dhyāna* (which, again, he probably learned from Master Dui) and recited scriptures while in reclusion. In 567, the prime minister of the newly established Zhou dynasty, Yuwen Hu 宇文護 (d. 572), sent Lost Name a letter to persuade him to come out of hiding and take office again, but Lost Name courteously declined the offer citing illness and his desire to continue his pursuit of the Way. As his reputation thus grew, students of Xuanxue flocked

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[152] In his insightful article on the withered tree tradition in China, Stephen Owen has shown that the barren tree (Owen's own preferred translation) came to be treated as a topical allegory at least through the eighth century; Owen 1979: 171. Beginning with Yu Xin's 庾信 (513-581) "Fu on the Barren Tree" (*kushu fu* 枯樹賦), Owen shows that the significance of the barren tree was accepted by some, rejected by others, and in some cases redefined and set in new contexts. Owen, for instance, provides an insightful contrast between Yu's *fu* and that of Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰 entitled "The Sick Pear Tree" (*binglishu fu* 病梨樹賦). Owen attributes the different treatment of the barren tree in their *fu* to the differing contexts in which they were written—the former writing during the six dynasties period and the latter writing in the context of the Early Tang *fugu* 復古 ("return to antiquity") interests; Owen 1979: 172-1733. Lu, as *fugu* writers often do, rejects Yu's praise of impermanence and his consequent reliance on the mood of rancour (*yuan* 怨) and lament (*ai* 哀), which characterized six dynasties literature. The famed poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) and literatus Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) also build upon the convention established by Yu but, like Lu, add new meaning to the barren tree tradition that reflects their own biographical interests.

around him and it was for these students that Lost Name is said to have composed his *Baoren ming*.

Lost Name, though honored in the *Xu gaoseng zhan* as an exemplary exegete (*yijie* 義解), is perhaps better remembered as belonging to that rare breed of men who practiced the true art of reclusion.[153] With the exception of a brief stint at an official career under Emperor Yuandi, Lost Name, like other virtuous men before him, never again emerged from his conscious withdrawal from public service. As Charles Holcombe points out, however, it had become fashionable and almost obligatory for those who belonged to the semi-hereditary literati class (*shi* 士) during the period of division (220-589) to cultivate not only traditional Ruist or Confucian values but also, and sometimes exclusively, a life of introspection and self-cultivation in reclusion, training in Xuanxue, and engaging other literati in a mode of discourse known as "pure talk" (*qingtan* 清談).[154] In fact, learning in these areas, according to Holcombe, was what gave this new *shi* class a sense of integrity, moral superiority, legitimacy, and also, perhaps more importantly, the privilege to serve in public office under the new Nine Ranks (*jiupin* 九品) selection system dominated by the great *shi* families in the South.[155] Lost Name was no exception to this rule,[156] but he differed from the majority of *shi* in that he never abandoned his life in reclusion. When Lost Name spoke of the disunity of teaching and action, word and deed, in the *Baoren ming*, he may have thus been chiding those who idealized reclusion and studied Xuanxue merely as a strategy for social and political self-promotion.

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[153] Alan Berkowitz calls this "substantive reclusion." Substantive reclusion, as opposed to nominal or abstract reclusion, refers to the "unremitting eschewal of an official career" and "reclusion as a way of life" (Berkowitz 1994: 632).

[154] See Holcombe 1994: 73-124, 128-129.

[155] See especially Holcombe 1994: 78-81, 129.

[156] Lost Name is not only recorded as having been born into a prominent family that had continuously held office, but we are also told that his own access to office was secured through his literary talents and desire for self-cultivation in reclusion; see T50.2060.481b10-11.

Lost Name's strict adherence to the ideals of reclusion was therefore the product of a complex web of causes and conditions. Incessant warfare, instability of political life, and the expectations and practical concerns of literati culture can, as we have seen, be pointed out as some of the conditions that guided his decision to turn to Xuanxue and reclusion. This, notwithstanding, Lost Name's own rationale for his behavior was rather simple. In Lost Name's eyes, the tension between individual cultivation and sociopolitical responsibility had become an irresolvable one. As we learn from the *Baoren ming*, it was evident to Lost Name that the Way could no longer be had in *wen* (culture), knowledge, fame, or public service. But it was equally evident that he, or anyone for that matter, *could* attain the Way by redirecting one's attention to the preservation of his own life in reclusion and transforming himself into dead ashes and a withered tree.

As important as the individual had thus seem to have become in the quest for the Way, we must proceed with caution here and more accurately determine what we mean by "individual" in this context. Although Yü Ying-shih and others have drawn an explicit connection between the spread of Xuanxue and the rise of "individualism" in early medieval China,[157] it is important to keep in mind that this "individualism" did not entail the desire to know the Way for oneself as proposed, for instance, by the renowned Tang literatus Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824).[158] As Christina Whitman astutely points out, moreover, the Daoist ideal, though removed from the realm of established patterns or *wen*, was still to a certain extent a holistic one embodied in the lofty notion of a transcendent Way,

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[157] Yü 1985. Among other things, Yü sees traces of this discovery in the rise of Xuanxue, a new type of portraiture and singular personality, and the art of characterology, which was initially developed as a method for determining an individual's qualifications for public office. He attributes this discovery to a social crisis that began at the end of the Han dynasty, that is, to the dissolution of the so-called "three bonds" (*sangang* 三綱) between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife during this period.

[158] Han's views on the relation between *wen* and *dao* are complicated and can perhaps be best characterized as that of creative tension. As Bol observes, "Han was caught in contradictions: between a conviction that men had to think for themselves and a belief that values had to be drawn from the cultural tradition and between an awareness of the need to create wen that could guide others and his rejection of the idea that cultural forms were normative" (Bol 1992: 125).

which pervades not only the individual but all things of this world.[159] This is, perhaps, why we do not find an explicit call to know the Way for oneself in Lost Name's *Baoren ming* in spite of the fact that it focuses on the "individual" and takes the form of an autobiography.[160]

In sum, although the necessary conditions had been in place since the fall of the Han, for the intellectual class known collectively as *shi* the urge to find what Charles Hartman calls "the unity of style," a style of writing that could unify the public and the private (or *wen* and *dao*), and thus a state of sagely "integrity" (*cheng* 誠) had to wait to appear until the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 in 755 (or what Peter Bol aptly terms "the crisis of culture in 755") and the consequent development of a new style of writing known as *guwen* 古文 by Han Yu.[161] In Han's eyes, the Way of the sages (*shengren zhi dao* 聖人之道) was not an abstract Way or one that is embodied in "old clichés" (*chenyan* 陳言), but a Way inherent to things and the immediate realities of the writer. For *guwen* writers, originality, innovation, and a personal understanding of the Way had thus become an integral part of learning the Way of the sages.[162] Buddhists, however, did not require a crisis to know that the true Way was not to be had in cultural norms or old clichés. For Buddhists, the Way had always been in tension with products of conceptual thought. But for reasons that are ultimately unclear systematic attempts to discern the need to know the Way for oneself, as we shall see in the following chapter, seem to have only begun to appear in Buddhists sources around the eighth century.

Even after such statements were made, what it meant to know the Way for oneself remained a matter of some controversy. Some, as we have seen, simply continued

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[159]Whitman 1985: 98.

[160] As Livial Kohn points out, Lost Name's autobiography is rather exceptional given the conspicuous lack of spiritual autobiographies in China (as noted earlier by Richard Robinson); see Knaul 1986: 420.

[161] See Chapter Four of Hartman 1986. For "crisis of culture in 755" see Bol 1992: esp. Chapter Four.

[162] See Hartman 1986 and Bol 1992.

the hallowed tradition of empting the mind of its contents and sitting like a withered tree. But there were others who questioned the utility of imitating such a traditional method. They accordingly began to develop new strategies and exegetical devices for knowing the Way oneself. As the influence of the latter group grew, the efficacy of "death" could no longer be simply taken for granted and the focus shifted towards the issue of how to return to "life." In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate that by the Song Chan exegetes began to see the encounter dialogues as having been developed in large part for such a purpose. But, as we are about to see, this emphasis on "life" was not enough to convince the unwilling and the uninitiated of the need to know the Way for oneself. To bear this heavy burden, a new malady—the malady of meditation—was born.

Chapter Three. On Knowing the Way for Oneself

> *The personal knowledge of those experienced in this seated meditation is not taught by any of the three vehicles.*[1]
>
> 此中坐禪證者之自知不由三乘之所説

Introduction

This unabashedly bold claim appears in a preface to an early Chan text from the first half of the eighth century entitled the *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 (Record of the Masters and Disciples of the *Laṅkā*[*vatāra*]) by the monk Jingjue 淨覺 (683-ca.750).[2] What is particularly striking about this claim is its use of the words *zizhi* 自知 ("know for oneself") and *zheng* 證 ("experienced"); the latter being a word that, I suspect, few would find easy to translate. Among other things, the word could refer to the act of "witnessing" or, by extension, "testifying" and "bearing witness to (something)" as in the case of the following line from the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects): "if his father steals a sheep then the son would bear witness to it."[3] But in other contexts the same word can also mean, "admonish" or "remonstrate" (*jian* 諫). Often *zheng* can also function as a noun and stand for "proof" (*yan* 驗) and in some case "rule" (*ze* 則). For Buddhists, however, *zheng* seems to have acquired a new meaning. When it appears in Buddhist sources *zheng* is often accompanied by the

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[1] Yanagida 1971b: 82-83 (see n. 2 below). Faure offers this translation: "Le dhyāna assis dont il est ici question, celui qui en témoigne l'a pratiqué par lui-même, et ne dépend pas [sur ce point] des théories de trois véhicules" (Faure 1989: 98). See also J. C. Clearly 1986: 23. The three vehicles are that of the śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, and bodhisattva.

[2] For the text of the *Lengqie shizi ji* I rely on the critical edition and translation in Japanese prepared by Yanagida Seizan. For a brief but useful explanation of the history of the text and its various extant editions, see Yanagida 1971b: 28-45. An annotated French translation and extensively researched introduction to the text can be found in Faure 1989. An English translation can be found in Cleary 1986: 17-78. For Jingjue, see Faure 1997: 130-144. Questions concerning the *Lengqie shizi ji*'s authorship and date and a brief summary of relevant scholarship on this issue can also be found in Barrett 1991 and Faure 1997: 167-172. See also McRae 1986: 88-91.

[3] 其夫譲羊而子證之 (Analects 13.18); cited in Morohashi 35946.

auxiliary verb *de* 得 ("attain"), and either separately or together they often seem to signify something like "reach," "attain," "realize," or "experience."[4] Before we settle with any of these translations, however, it should be noted that Kumārajīva had used the same word to translate an Indic term that probably denoted something quite different like "touch" (*sparśa*).[5]

However we may wish to translate the word *zheng*, we must keep some, if not all, of these various uses of *zheng* in mind, for they surely have some bearing on the way in which the word was put to use in Buddhist texts. To *zheng* something, for instance, could easily have implied a sense of *indubitableness* and *authority* stemming from the idea of a *direct* witnessing of that something. But above all else, as we may observe in the case of Jingjue's preface, *zheng* seems to have been frequently employed in Buddhists texts to refer specifically to the *unmediated*, *ineffable*, and *intuitive* aspect of one's realization of what many in medieval China simply called the Way. To "*zheng*" the Way in seated meditation, we may recall, was to know the Way for oneself, and one apparently could not rely on established forms of knowledge for this type of knowing. As Jingjue also poetically states elsewhere in his preface, "buddha nature is empty and without form, true thusness is tranquil and does not speak; that which is transmitted orally and expounded upon in words and letters, all this is but deluded meditation."[6] He therefore calls this knowledge a "secret that cannot be taught to others."[7] To make such a claim, however, clearly belies its own message, and the irony that we sense here is all the more apparent when we consider

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[4] Particularly interesting in this respect is the following dialogue recorded in the long scroll of the *Erru sixing lun*: "Question: to witness [*zheng*] nirvana with remainder and to attain [*de*] the fruit of arhatship—is this enlightenment or not? Answer: this is dream-like witnessing" 問證有余涅槃、得羅漢果者、此是覺不、答此是夢證 (Yanagida 1969: 79); cf. Broughton 1999: 17.

[5] See Seishi Karashima's (2001) very useful comparative glossary of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sutra* (T9.262); Karashima 2001: 64-65, 362-363. The equivalent in Dharmarakṣa's earlier translation is *chengjiu* 成就 ("accomplish" or "consummate").

[6] 佛性空無相、真如寂不言、口傳文字說、斯皆妄想禅 (Yanagida 1971b: 49); see Faure 1989: 87.

[7] 秘密不教人 (Yanagida 1971b: 49); see Faure 1989: 87.

the etymology of *zheng*. The Eastern Han dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, for instance, offers this simple gloss for this elusive character: "it is to inform" (*gaoye* 告也). That the word *zheng* contains the radical *yan* 言, which means "speak," should in fact be enough to convince anyone of how far *zheng* had deviated from its roots.

Although we may have thus arrived at a better (albeit preliminary) understanding as to what it means to *zheng* something, we may still benefit greatly from the experience of others who similarly found themselves confounded by *zheng*. Most noteworthy in this respect is Yuanwu's teacher Wuzu Fayan. According to his biography,[8] Wuzu entered the *saṃgha* at the relatively old age of thirty-four and studied Consciousness Only (*weishi* 唯識) treatises while residing in Chengdu.[9] From these treatises he is said to have learned that "when a bodhisattva enters the path of seeing, wisdom and principle become obscure, objects and spirit meet, and the witness (*nengzheng* 能證) and the witnessed (*suozheng* 所證) become indistinguishable."[10] As the biography

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[8] Here I will follow the *Wudeng huiyuan* version of Wuzu's biography. A verbatim copy of this biography can also be found in the *Xu chuandeng lu*; for the passage in question, see T51.2077.601c15-21 passim. The *Xu chuandeng lu* was compiled by Yuanju jujing 圓極居頂 (d. 1404) during the Yuan as a supplement to the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Yuanju began the compilation of the *Xu chuandeng lu* in 1335 and the project was completed the next year in 1336. The *Wudeng huiyuan* thus appeared almost a century before the *Xu chuandeng lu*. We also find the same story with slight variation in the *Foyan chanshi yulu* 佛眼禪師語録 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Foyan) preserved in the *Guzunsu yulu*; see ZZ 118.575a12-18. Foyan Qingyuan 佛眼清遠 (1067-1120), Fojian Huiqin, and Yuanwu Keqin (see Chapter One) were fellow disciples of Wuzu and are often referred to as the three buddhas of East Mountain (*dongshan sanfo* 東山三佛).

[9] This is probably referring to texts such as the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (Treatise on Consciousness Only); see T31.1585. Other consciousness only treatises can be found in the thirty-first volume of the Taishō canon.

[10] 因聞菩薩入見道時、智與理冥、境與神會、不分能證所證 (ZZ 138.729a8-9). I have been unable to identify this passage in any Consciousness Only treatises, but similar passages are found in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* (T6.220.669.a7, T7.229.196b4, 279c21, 645c23, 842c2, 900a15-16, 1036c19-20). See also the *Qixin lun shu bixueji* (T44.1848.390b17) and *Congrong Record* (T48.2004.21c28). What Wuzu may be referring to here is a curious passage from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*'s description of the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*) wherein the nature of the "comprehension of the noble truths" (S. *abhisamaya*, C. *xianzheng* 現證) is debated; see La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: 946-947; cf. T29.1558.121a27-28, 121c9-c14. Whereas the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* argues that this comprehension consists of sixteen thought moments, others claimed that it was a more direct, "sudden comprehension" (*dun xianguan* 頓現觀);

continues to tell us, an Indian heretic had apparently challenged this teaching by asking what anyone, I suspect, would want to ask when given such a teaching: "If the witness and the witnessed become indistinguishable then what does it mean to witness [something]?"[11] We are also informed, however, that the famed Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 600-664) had fortuitously come to defend and "save this teaching" (*jiuyi* 救義) from the heretic's critique with this witty response: "it is like a person who drinks water and knows whether it is cold and warm for oneself."[12] Although Xuanzang, we are told, had "thus penetrated the difficulty [of this teaching]" (*nei tong qi nan* 乃通其難),[13] Wuzu seems to have been anything but satisfied with Xuanzang's response as we may glean from his retort: "cold and warm are comprehensible; [but] what is this business of knowing for oneself?"[14] Indeed, what does it mean to say that one knows the Way for oneself?

T29.1558.121c10. This comprehension, these other teachers claimed, was thus without distinctions (*wu chabie* 無差別); T29.1558.121c11. According to La Vallée Poussin, these "others" might be the Dharmaguptakas or the Mahāsāṁghikas; La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: 1057 n. 169. The Sarvāstivādins did claim that the transition from the highest ordinary state to the "attainment" (*zheng*) of a vision of the truth of suffering, that is, the dharma knowledge of suffering (*ku fazhi* 苦法智) and patience thereof is "instantaneous" (*wujian* 無間); T29.1558.121a29-b1 (cf. La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: 943).

Given the Chan tradition's liking for the *Laṅkāvātara sūtra*, what Wuzu may have also had in the mind is a chapter from the *sūtra* entitled "direct attainment" (*xianzheng* 現證); see T16.672.618b11-619a18. In this chapter, the *sūtra* uses the analogy of waking from sleep and realizing that everything perceived during sleep is untrue and simply that which is seen, heard, cognized, and known (more on this expression later). The eighth stage bodhisattva, however, having attained nondiscrimination, see all dharmas as being nothing but illusions and dreams and thus transcends the distinction of subject and object, and diligently cultivates the buddha's dharma and *zheng*-s what he has not yet *zheng*-ed 第八得無分別、見一切法如幻夢等離能所取 . . . 勤修佛法未證令證 (T16.672.618c28-29).

[11] 既不分能證所證、卻以何為證 (ZZ 138.729a10). I have been unable to identify this heretic who is simply identified as *bhikṣu* Changnan 嘗難比丘. According to the version of this story found at the beginning of the sixth fascicle of Tōyō Eichō's 東陽英朝 (1428-1504) *Shūmon shōtōroku* 宗門正燈錄 (Record of the True Lamp of Our School) first published sometime in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century the heretic's name was Changliyinan 嘗立義難 ("Experiencing the Teaching is Difficult").

[12] 如人飲水、冷暖自知 (ZZ 138.729a12).

[13] ZZ 138.729a12

[14] 冷暖則可知矣、作麼生是自知底事 (ZZ 138.729a12-13).

In the process of following up on Wuzu's query, I hope to demonstrate a rather simple point. That point is this: the blending of two radically different discourses on meditation occurred in the life and thought of Dahui Zonggao. On the one hand we have the traditional hindrances of torpor and excitation drawn, no doubt, from the technical discourse of a meditation manual and the passionate (or, as some prefer to call it, polemical) call to know the Way for oneself on the other. As a by-product of this blending of discourses, there also emerged a new tradition of candidly speaking of one's experience of the malady of meditation. This should not, however, be confused with some vague claim about the emergence of a notion of "self" or "private experience" in Chan. The call to know the Way for oneself, as I hope to show, was a call to study the Way of the ancients in their respectable deeds and words and thus involved a serious engagement in the study of texts that recorded these deeds and words. To know the Way for oneself was to study these texts *directly* and *personally*, that is, without relying on expedients and makeshift devices devised by others. This (and not a theory of qualia), I argue, is what some Song dynastery Chan exegetes meant by "drinking water to know whether it is cold or warm for oneself." This, I also argue, is an extension of the call to *make* the deeds and words of the ancients *his/ her own* that we examined in Chapter Two. Only this way, as we shall see, could one be *certain* (*zheng*) of one's realization and be worthy to receive proof (*zheng*) of this realization. Before we examine these arguments from Song dynasty Chan texts in detail, let us examine some early references to *zheng* and the idea of knowing something for oneself in Buddhist texts.

Like Drinking Cold Water

In a note appended to his translation of Jingjue's claim that I cite at the beginning of this chapter Yanagida Seizan mentions, in addition to two others,[15] an instance of *zheng* that

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[15] See Yanagida 1971b: 86. The other two references are from the *Dasheng qixin lun* (T32.1666.576b7-8) and the Northern School text *Dunwu zhenzong lun* 頓悟真宗論 (S5533, P2799, P3922), otherwise known as *Dunwu zhenzong jingang banruo xiuxing da bian famen yaoque* 頓悟真宗金剛般若修行達彼岸要訣 (Essential Oral Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment to the True Tenet

he found in the *Huayan youxin fajie ji* 華嚴遊心法界記 (Record of the Enjoyment in the Dharma Realm of the Flower Garland [Scripture]) by Fazang: "therefore the treatise states, 'it is like a person who drinks cold water—only those who have witnessed it know it for themselves."[16] Fazang refers to this line from the unnamed treatise in support of his claim that emptiness and existence transcend words and the reaches of the mind.[17] As he does throughout the *Huayan youxin fajie ji*, Fazang attempts to elaborate upon this intricate point by answering a series of pointed questions.

The question that concerns us here is the following: "If [you] say emptiness and existence are perfectly integrated, completely cut off from words and contemplation, and transcends speech and contemplation, how is one to witness and enter [nonduality]?[18] In reply he offers this startling answer: "[Emptiness and existence] are *not* wordless and without speech."[19] As an explanation, Fazang submits the following claim: "words are themselves thusness and they are accordingly not different from the truth, hence [they are] 'speechless.'"[20] The same, he says, goes for contemplation.[21] In support (albeit in

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and Attainment of the Other Shore [through] the Cultivation of Adamantine Wisdom) composed in 712.

[16] 故論云、如人飲冷水唯證者自知 (T45.1877.644c19-20). Yanagida does not identify the treatise (*lun* 論), but an identical passage is also found in the Korean monk Tunnyun's 遁倫 (d.u.) *Yuqielun ji* 瑜伽論記 (Notes on the Yogā[cārabhūmi] Treatise), a commentary on the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* (T30.1579). The passage in question reads: Jing said, "this clarifies that relative self nature [*paratantra svabhāva*] cannot be said in words. Likewise, the eyes witness form . . . up to and including the body senses touch [all this] cannot be said in words. Like drinking cold water, those who have witnessed it know for themselves. If said in words, it cannot be called that which is witnessed 景云、此明依他自相不可言說、如眼證色乃至身所覺觸不可言說、如飲冷水證者自知、必言說之不稱所證 (T42.1828.558b2). I have been unable to identify the identity or the work of Jing. See also T42.1828.721b15-16.

[17] 空有兩門離諸言論心行之境 (T45.1877.644b20). This is the thesis of the fourth of his "five gates" (*wumen* 五門).

[18] 若云空有圓融語觀咸絶者既離言觀、云何證入耶 (T45.1877.644b26-27).

[19] 非是無語不言 (T45.1877.644b27). Emphasis mine.

[20] 但以語即如故不異於真是以無言 (T45.1877.644b27-28).

[21] 觀行亦爾 (T45.1877.644b28).

reverse logic) of his claim that words are themselves the truth and hence in some sense speechless, he refers to Vimalakīrti's oft-cited response from the chapter on "entering the gate of nonduality" (*ru buer famen* 入不二法門) and offers this reading of the latter's silence and speechlessness: "to be silent and speechless is itself *to expound upon* [*shuo* 說] the entrance into the gate of nonduality."[22] Or, in keeping with his initial argument we can perhaps even say: to speak *is* in some sense to be silent and to be silent *is* to bear witness to nonduality. But one cannot therefore speak *about* the silent truth and attempt to witness it, for this would be an attachment to emptiness (i.e., silence) and, as Fazang reminds us, "all attachments to emptiness fail" (*kongji dou wang ye* 空執都亡也).[23] Fazang thus arrives at the following conclusion about *zheng*:

> Witness the ocean of nature at the end of the mind and wander beyond objects. Overcome emotions and transcend thoughts; go far beyond arguments and immediately halt the hundred disputations. Cut off both words and contemplations. The deluded mind shall thus be forever eliminated and the various views will disperse like the clouds—one will then only come into accord with *zheng*. How could it be involved in speech and discussion? Those who mutually resonate [with *zheng*] know it for themselves.[24]

Immediately following this claim we find the reference from the unnamed treatise (or scripture)[25] cited above wherein witnessing and knowing the truth for oneself is likened to

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[22] 但默然無言即是說入不二法門 (T45.1877.644c5-6). Emphasis mine.

[23] T45.1877.644c13.

[24] 證性海於心端逍然物外、超情離念迥越擬議頓塞百非、語觀雙絶、故既妄心永滅諸見雲披唯證相應、豈關言論、有相應者當自思之 (T45.1877.644c16-19).

[25] The entire passage from Fazang's text that I summarize above is reproduced almost verbatim in an "earlier" text known as the *Wujiao zhiguan* 五教止觀 (Calming and Contemplation in the Five Teachings) falsely attributed to the monk Du Shun 杜順 (557-640). The Japanese scholar Yūki Reimon has suggested that the *Wujiao zhiguan* may in fact be an earlier draft of Fazang's *Huyan youxin fajie ji*. In the *Wujiao zhiguan*, the line, "it is like a person who drinks cold water, [one can] only know it for himself," is said to have been cited from a scripture (*jing* 經), not a commentary or

fact that the coolness of water can only be known by those who actually drink it.

As a reputed patriarch of both Chan and Huayan, Zongmi would be the one person that would be most likely to employ a similar line of reasoning to speak of emptiness and existence, and that he did indeed. In his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Prolegomenon to the Collection of the Various Expressions of the Source of Chan; hereafter *Chan Prolegomenon*), for instance, Zongmi articulates his own doctrinal classification system, according to which there are largely three types of teachings: (1) hidden intent that sets forth the phenomenal appearances that are based on the nature; (2) hidden intent that negates phenomenal appearances in order to reveal the nature; (3) direct revelation that the mind is the nature.[26] What concerns us here is the relationship between the first (Yogācāra) and the second teachings (Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka), which Zongmi relates to what he calls the "lineage that puts delusions to rest and cultivates the mind" (*xiwang xiuxin zong* 息妄修心宗)—otherwise known as the "gradual gate of Chan" (*jianmen chan* 漸門禪)—and the "lineage that has completely cut off [all views] and is utterly without support" (*minjue wuji zong* 泯絶無寄宗) respectively.[27]

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treatise (*lun* 論); see T47.1867.512a21-22. On the issue of the authorship of the *Wujiao zhiguan*, see Gimello 1976: 77-78.

[26] 密意依性說相教、密意破相顯性教、顯示真心即性教. For the *Chan Prolegomenon*, I shall be relying on the critical edition prepared by Kamata Shigeo (1971). Although the convention so far has been to call Zongmi's text the *Chan Preface*, as Jeffrey Broughton points out, calling a text of about 25,000 logographs a preface is a bit of a misnomer and we might therefore do well to call it the *Chan Prolegomenon*; see Broughton 2004: 15. For Zongmi's doctrinal classification, see Kamata 1971: 126-140. For an explanation of Zongmi's *panjiao* scheme in English; see Gregory 1991: 206-223.

[27] See Kamata 1971: 126-130; and also Gregory 1991: 224-225, 234-236. The former refers to the so-called Northern school and the latter to the Ox-head lineage (*niutou zong* 牛頭宗). Ishii Shūdo claims that Zongmi had used the story of Bodhidharma's transmission of his flesh, bone, and marrow in a similar way to classify the lineages and doctrines of Chan; see Ishii 1987: 108 (cf. Ishii 1988). According to Ishii, the lineage that puts delusions to rest and cultivates the mind is represented by nun Congzhi and her statement ("eradicate afflictions and attain bodhi"), the lineage that has completely cut off all views by Daoyu and his statement ("delusion is affliction; awakening is bodhi"), and the last "lineage that directly reveals mind and nature" (*zhixian xinxing zong* 直顯心性) by Huike and his statement ("originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi"). Noting Zongmi's efforts to distinguish his Heze lineage (named after Shenhui) from

According to Zongmi, these two types of Chan clashed over the notion of cause and effect.[28] The former, he tells us, criticized the latter for denying it. In defense of the latter type of Chan, Zongmi reminds his reader that the Buddha himself had declared the nonexistence of both karma and retribution. To this claim, the critics had apparently responded with the counter claim that a "deeper intent" (*shenyi* 深意) underlies the Buddha's declaration but not the teachings of Chan. Unwavering in his determination to defend the apophatic trends in Chan, Zongmi replies that there is a deeper intent that underlies the Chan denial of cause and effect as well.[29]

These disagreements, notwithstanding, Zongmi insists that these two types of Chan do not therefore conflict. In fact, Zongmi contends that they not so much negate (*xiangpo* 相破) as complete each other (*xiangcheng* 相成).[30] Conflict between the two teachings only arose because, he claims, people with slow and dull faculties leaned towards either emptiness or existence. That is to say, "many became attached to writings (*wen* 文) and missed the purport."[31] However, as Zongmi succinctly puts it, "true emptiness is an emptiness that does not go against existence"[32] and "wondrous existence is an existence that does not go against emptiness."[33] With this in mind, he offers these final thoughts on

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Mazu's Hongzhou lineage, Yanagida associated Daoyu and his statement with the Hongzhou lineage and not with the Ox-head lineage; see Yanagida 1984b (cited in Ishii 1987: 121 n. 16).

[28] Kamata 1971: 126; cf. Broughton 1976: 180.

[29] Here, I follow Kamata's reading of this passage; see Kamata 1971: 127. Broughton's rendition of this passage seems to be in error; see Broughton 1976: 180.

[30] 此乃相成、不是相破 (Kamata 1971: 126); cf. Broughton 1976: 184. As Kamata Shigeo points out, this and other parts of Zongmi's argument is similar in wording and logic to an argument presented in Fazang's *Huayan wujiao zhang* 華嚴五教章 (Treatise on the Five Teachings of Huayan; T45.1866.501a12-b1) and *Shier men lun zhiyi ji* 十二門論宗致義記 (Record of the Ultimate Meaning of the Tenet of the Twelve Gate Treatise; T42.1826.218b-c). See Kamata 1971: 129-130. For an English translation of the passage in question, see Broughton 1976: 181 n. 5.

[31] 多執文迷旨 (Kamata 1971: 126); cf. Broughton 1976: 181.

[32] 真空者是不違有之空也 (Kamata 1971: 126; trans. Broughton 1976: 181 [with minor changes]).

[33] 妙有者是不違空之有也 (Kamata 1971: 126; trans. Broughton 1976: 183 [with minor changes]).

this misguided internecine conflict: "Question: Since for the former worthies of the western regions, mutual negation was identical to mutual confirmation, how can it be that in this land mutual negation becomes jealousy? Answer: *It is like a person who drinks water and knows whether it is cool or warm for himself*—everyone [must] contemplate mind. Everyone [must] investigate thoughts. [The former worthies of the western regions] left behind the medicine to cure the disease, but [some in this land] have not become healthy men. They set up a Dharma to ward off error, but some have not become worthies."[34] Needless to say, such worthies belonged to his own Heze 荷澤 school of Shenhui, that is, the "lineage that directly reveals the nature of mind" (*zhixian xinxing zong* 直顯心性宗).

One did not, however, have to be conversant with Huayan doctrine to be aware that the Way was not to be had in established patterns and cumulative wisdom (*wen*) but in a direct witnessing of sorts. In fact, similar notions of witnessing and knowing a non-discursive truth for oneself abound in Buddhist sources.[35] Here I cite but one

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[34] 問西域先賢相破、既是相成、豈可此方相 非便成相嫉、答如人飲水冷暖自知、各各觀 心各各察念、留藥防病不為健人、立法防奸不為賢士 (Kamata 1971: 127; emphasis mine); trans. Broughton 1976: 186 (with some minor changes).

[35] Chan master Huangbo, for instance, is known to have exhorted his students to abandon deluded views since a man who "drinks water knows whether it is hot or cold for himself." 飲水冷暖自知 (ZZ 118.197a8); cf. Blofeld 1958: 126. This reference is from the *Huangbo Duanji chanshi wanling lu* 黄檗斷際禪師宛陵録 (Wanling Record of Chan Master Huangbo Duanji; hereafter *Wanling Record*). Like the *Chuanxin fayao*, the *Wanling Record* was most likely compiled in the early Song, and both were included in the Song canons published at Dongchan si and Kaiyuan si; see Shiina 1993: 220. The Kaiyuan si edition (appended to the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*) has been reproduced in Yanagida 1975. The Taishō canon copy of the *Wanling Record* is based on the Ming edition from the Southern Canon printed at Baoen si in Jinling. Both the Kaiyuan si and Baoen si editions lack the numerous *shangtang* records (and hence the quote above) that we find at the end of the Zokuzōkyo and *Sijia yulu* editions. However, as Yanagida points out, the *Sijia yulu* edition of the *Wanling Record* seems to have incorporated many of the sermons that we find under Huangbo's entry in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*; see Iriya 1969: 177. For the above quote in the *Sijia yulu*, see Yanagida 1974a: 51, and in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, see Yanagida 1975: 417.

We also find a reference to the notion of drinking water to know whether it is hot or cold for himself in Yixing's 一行 (683-727) commentary on the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*. There, Yixing uses this expression to speak of the "self-realization" (*zizheng* 自證) of the letter *a*; see T39.1796.709c1. But the idea of witnessing and thus knowing the non-discursive truth for oneself is much older than Huangbo and Yixing. It was, for instance, articulated on several occasions in the *Dazhidu lun*:

(1) "Moreover, the bodhisattva stage is equipped with the six *pāramitā* and produces the wisdom of skillful means, but it does not abide in the true mark of all dharmas. One knows and witnesses it for oneself and does not follow the words of others" 復次菩薩位者、具足六波羅蜜生方便智、於諸法實相亦不住、自知自證不隨他語 (T25.1509.262a23-26); cf. Lamotte 1949-1980: 1789-1790. Lamotte offers this translation: "En outre il y a Bodhisattvaniyāma quand le Bodhisattva, pleinement doué des six perfections (*ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃpanna*), produit le savoir en moyens salvifiques (*upāyajñāna*), mais sans se dixer sur le Vrai caractère (*bhūtalakṣaṇa*) des dharma. Il le connaît (*jānīte*) personnellement et l'atteste (*sākṣātkaroti*) personnellement, sans dépendre de la parole d'autrui" (Lamotte 1949-1980: 1789-1790).

As Lamotte notes, to stop at the true mark of dharmas—that they are unborn—would be to cease pursuing the career of bodhisattva and prematurely enter into nirvana; see Lamotte 1949-1980: 1790 n. 2. It seems worth noting here an argument recently advanced by Jan Nattier. Speaking of *upāya-kauśalya*, Nattier claims that there were two fundamentally different uses of the term. As in the case of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the term could refer to the act of adapting the Dharma to suit the needs of others, but it can also refer a solitary act which is carried out by the bodhisattva, during his cultivation of the four *dhyāna*s, to keep him or her from accidentally suffering a heavenly rebirth or slipping into a lower form of enlightenment; see Nattier 2003: 154-156.

(2) "All the disciples of the Buddha who have attained the Way know and witness no self for oneself. Those who have not yet attained the Way believe in the emptiness of the other dharmas but are incapable of similarly believing in no self" 一切佛弟子得道者、自知自證無我、未得道者信餘法空不能如信無我 (T25.1509.431c18-19).

(3) "Again, it is called *annuttara*. In the language of Qin, [it is] 'unexcelled.' What is unexcelled? Nirvana is an unexcelled dharma. The Buddha knows this nirvana for himself and did not hear it from others" 復名阿耨多羅、秦言無上、云何無上、涅槃法無上、佛自知是涅槃不從他聞 (T25.1509.72b1-2); cf. Lamotte 1949-1980: 132.

(4) "If a bodhisattva hears this [i.e., the Buddha's Dharma] and espouses no hatred or doubt, he will accordingly not produce, not destroy, not give rise to, and not create dharmas while practicing in the mark of the six *pāramitā*. He knows it for himself and does not follow the words of others. This is true *avinivartanīya*" 若菩薩聞是不瞋不疑、隨無生無滅無起無作法 行於六波羅蜜相中、自知不隨於他語、當知是眞阿毘跋致 (T25.1509.574a20-22).

(5) "Therefore, if a bodhisattva wishes not to follow teachings of others, he does not follow the names taught by others and knows the true mark of all dharmas for himself. Even if [the mark of dharmas] were to metamorphose into the body of a buddha, if it is different from the mark of the Dharma, then he does not believe in or follow it. One attains the bodhisattva way for oneself and gradually comes to be equipped with the Dharma of all the buddhas" 是故菩薩若欲不隨他教、不隨他教名自知諸法實相、乃至變作佛身來說於法相亦不信不隨、自得菩薩道漸漸具足諸佛法 (T25.1509.598c10-12).

(6) "Also, a bodhisattva knows whether or not he is equipped with good roots for himself just like a bird knows for itself that it can only fly when equipped with feathered wings" 又菩薩亦自知善根具足不具足如鳥子自知毛羽具足爾乃可飛 (T25.1509.641a21-22).

noteworthy example, which I take from Yongming Yanshou's *Zongjing lu*: "awakening to the Way and illuminating the tenet is like a man who drinks water and knows whether it is hot or cold for himself—how could you explain their shape and actions?"[36] To this question, Yongming offers a characteristically detailed reply. First, he concedes that all the buddhas put the Way and the tenet into words as an expedient means, but for those who have clearly penetrated the tenet there is of course no need for such explanations. Yongming then claims that the Buddha had revealed two different types of penetration—"tenet penetration" (*zongtong* 宗通) and "discourse penetration" (*shuotong* 說通).[37] The former, he explains, is for bodhisattvas whereas the latter is for children, that is, for those with the capacity of a beginner (*chuji* 初幾). What is tenet penetration? Yongming tells us that it is a "self-attainment" (*zide* 自得) beyond words and letters and a "self-awakening" (*zijue* 自覺) that emits a brilliant illumination.[38] He likens this experience to a blind man who opens his eyes and sees objects clearly for the first time. Similarly, alluding to an old Buddhist parable from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*, Yongming also likens this experience to a blind man who has already experienced an elephant and will therefore never mistake it for anything else.[39] Yongming even makes use of a familiar Buddhist adage and speaks of tenet penetration as someone who, having already seen the moon, will never again look at his finger.[40]

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[36] T48.2016.428b16.

[37] This distinction is made in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*; see T16.670.497b and 499b27-c6 (noted in Yanagida 1967: 52; cited in McRae 1986: 304 n. 14). This reference was also used to defend the patriarchs' use of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*; see ZTJ 5/75/2-4.

[38] T48.2016.428b24-25.

[39] See T12.374.556a-. For Zongmi's use of this parable, see Kamata 1971: 81.

[40] T48.2016.428c1. In speaking of *zheng*, we must also be cautious not to neglect the various scriptural instances of the term "inner witnessing" (*neizheng* 內證 or *pratyātmādhigama*), which was often used to refer to the non-discursive wisdom of a buddha or bodhisattva in such texts as the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*. For instance, see *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* (T16.672.525c1, 527a7, 527c19, 529a9, 531a22, 532a15, 532a25, 539c21-540a20, 616c13). See also the *Abhidharmakośabhāsya*

It should also be known, however, that the idea of knowing something for oneself had not always been associated with witnessing the ineffable, non-discursive truth. At least in some relatively early Buddhist texts, *zizhi* seems to have had less to do with the truth or the Way than with an intimate and unshakable knowledge of one's death. In the *Youxing jing* 遊行經 (Scripture on the Wandering) from the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (Long Āgama Scripture), for instance, we find the Buddha continuously reassuring Māra—who on more than one occasion harassed him to enter *parinirvāṇa*—that he "knows for himself the time [to enter *parinirvāṇa*]" (*zizhi shi* 自知時).[41] According to the *Gaoseng zhuan*, monks like Sengrui similarly "knew for themselves" that their end was near.[42] Facing imminent death, these monks, we are also told, placed their final thoughts on being reborn in Amitābha's pure land (*jingtu* 净土). Many more were to follow in their footsteps, albeit with the assistance of new techniques that were developed specifically for the purpose of securing one's rebirth in pure land.[43] According to one such technique devised by the monk Zunshi 遵式 (964-1032), for instance, if the mindful recitation of the name of the buddha Amitābha is repeated ten times faithfully at dawn then "at the moment of death one will know for himself that the time has come, the body will be free of suffering and illness, and the mind will be free of greed and lust as if one had entered

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(T29.1558.34a10-11); *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* (T30.1579.382c19-20, 544c11-12, 570c21, 701a28-29, 825c4 etc.), *Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya* (see T31.1597.371b29-c14).

[41] See T1.1.15c2, 13, 17 and 17a10, 15, 19. The *Youxing jing* is an early version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūra*. For the corresponding passage in the *Dīgha nikāya*, see DN II: 104-106, 112-114.

[42] See T50.2059.357c1 and 364b15. These references occur in the biographies of Huiqian 慧虔 (ca. 5 C.E.) and Kumārajīva's disciple Sengrui respectively. In another interesting instance, we are told that in 484 the emperor (presumably Wudi [r. 482-493] of Qi) "knew for himself" that the eminent monk Sengyuan 僧遠 had passed away in the middle of the night; see T50.2059.378b4. According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, the monks Prabhākaramitra (ca. 7 C.E.), Haishun 海順 (d. 618), Zhixiao 智曉 (d.u.), Poruo 波若 (ca. 6 C.E.), Faxi 法喜 (d. 632) and others had also "known for themselves" that they were not going to be able to recover from ill health and the end was thus near; see T50.2060.440b23, 525b25-26, 560c5, 571a4-5, 587c8-9, 588b7, 644b29, 645c15, 689b4, 695c24, 696c14-15, and 703c27. The practice of predicting the time of one's death in Chan and Zen has already been well noted in Faure 1991: 184-187.

[43] For death and Buddhism, see Stone 2005.

dhyāna."[44] A similar claim regarding the practice of *nianfo* is also recorded in the Yuan dynasty anthology *Lianzong baojian* 蓮宗寶鑑 (Treasured Mirror of the [White] Lotus Tradition).[45]

As we can see, knowing something for oneself had not always taken the ineffable as its exclusive object. Death could, to be sure, justifiably be called the ineffable object par excellence, for no matter how hard one tries to learn of death through the words of another somehow they always miss the mark. But the point of knowing one's imminent death for oneself seems to have had had less to do with its ineffability than with the certainty of its arrival. Monks like Sengrui, their biographies seem to be telling us, knew with certainty that their death was immanent, and it was this awareness that allowed them to make necessary arrangements before the irreversible event occurred.

In fact, even after medieval Buddhist savants and virtuosos began to speak of knowing the ineffable Way for themselves a sense of certainty and sureness continued to be an important characteristic of this experience. Yongming's reference to the parable of the blind men and the elephant is a good case in point. This, however, is not to say that certainty was thus the *raison d'être* of knowing something for oneself. More important than certainty, it seems, was the direct and intuitive aspect of this knowing or witnessing, which, as we have seen, was often illustrated with the help of the metaphor of drinking water to discern its taste and quality. While it may thus be tempting to read this interest in

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[44] 若臨欲命終、自知時至、身不病苦、心無貪戀、心不倒散、如入禪定 (T47.1970.287c27). This account can be found in the *Ciyun canzhu chenchao shinian fa* 慈雲懺主晨朝十念法 (The Ten Mindful Recitation at Dawn Technique by Repentance Master Ciyun) preserved in the *Longshu zengguan jingtu wen* 龍舒增廣淨土文 (Expanded Writings on Pure Land [Edited in] Longshu). The *Longshu jingtu wen* was originally compiled by Wang rixiu 王日休 (d. 1173), a *jinshi* literatus from Longshu (Anhui province), in the Song (1160). The original collections of scriptural passages, biographies, sermons, and miracle tales concerning rebirth in pure land was later expanded into the twelve-volume edition that has been reproduced in the Taishō canon. The *Ciyun canzhu chenchao shinian fa* seems to have been extracted from a larger work by Zunshi entitled *Wangsheng jingtu jueyi xingyuan er men* 往生浄土決疑行願二門 (Two Teachings for Resolving Doubts and Establishing the Practice and Vow to be Reborn in the Pure Land; T47.1968). A partial English translation of this text can be found in Stevenson 1995. For the passage in question, see T47.1968.147b2-3 and Stevenson 1995:376.

[45] See T47.1973.312c21-22.

zheng qua experience of drinking water as an extension of the protracted debate between idealism and empiricism, unless we are to conclude that medieval Buddhist exegetes were thus embroiled in a debate concerning, say, the existence and nature of qualia (a question that I leave others to pursue), it seems imperative that we continue our quest to seek a more historically refined and context sensitive understanding as to why the question of knowing something for oneself so puzzled Wuzu.

The Book

What I would like to therefore consider in the next few pages are the textual practices that serve as the background against which we must understand the concerns and aspirations of Wuzu and his disciples. Unfortunately, due to the lack of reliable data from the Tang, there is little that one can say with any certainty about the textual practices of Chan from this relatively early period, but a few noteworthy passages from some later sources, identified by Yanagida, seem to provide us with a unique glimpse, though speculative at best, of the conditions that led to rise of the textual practices unique to Chan. Consider, for instance, the following words of chastisement attributed to Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866):

> The trouble with students these days is that they seize on words and form their understanding on that basis. In a big notebook they copy down the sayings of some worthless old fellow, wrapping it up in three layers, five layers of carrying cloth, not letting anyone else see it, calling it the 'Dark Meaning' and guarding it as something precious. What a mistake! Blind fools, what sort of juice do they expect to get out old dried bones?
>
> There's a bunch of fellows who can't tell good from bad but poke around in the scriptural teachings, hazard a guess here and there, and come up with an idea in words, as though they took a lump of shit, mushed it around in their mouth, and then spat it out and passed it on to somebody else. They're like those people who play pass-the-word parlor games, wasting their whole lives like that. 'I've left household life!' they say, but if someone questions them

about the Dharma of the buddhas, they clamp their mouths shut, speak not a syllable, their eyes like two blackened chimneys, their mouths drooping down like a bent carrying pole. Even when the time comes for Maitreya to make his appearance in the world, they'll be off in some other world where they've been sent to suffer the torments of hell.[46]

In another intriguing anecdote from Juefan Huihong's 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128) *Linjian lu* 林間録 (Records from the Groves), the monk Foyin Liaoyuan 佛印了元 (1032-1098) is remembered as having said that his spiritual ancestor Yunmen used to hate it when people recorded his words.[47] Cursing and chasing them out, Yunmen would say, "You won't use your own mouths. Instead, you record my words. You're going to sell me out some day!"[48] We nevertheless do have a record of Yunmen's sayings, Foyin laments, because Xianglin 香林 and Mingjiao 明教 made clothes out of paper (*yizhi weiyi* 以紙為衣) and, unbeknownst to Yunmen, kept a record of what they heard.

Regardless of the veracity of these reports, we can, as Yanagida has done, readily imagine similar circumstances giving rise to more elaborate forms of textual practice, which, as Yanagida also suspects, would eventually have become so elaborate and large an enterprise that a systematic attempt would have had to be made to simplify and bring order to this enterprise by means of something like the koan anthologies of the Song.[49] We need not belabor this point here as it has been already summarized by John McRae in his article "Yanagida's Landmark Works on Chinese Ch'an," but a few of

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[46] T47.1985.501c14-22; trans. Watson 1999: 61. The Taishō editors used a copy of *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao chanshi yulu* 鎮州臨濟慧照禅師語録 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou; hereafter *Linji lu*) that was printed by a certain Tokutomi Choichirō 徳富猪一郎 in 1437. This edition bears a preface prepared by an official named Ma Fang 馬防 (n.d.) that is dated 1120. The *Linji lu* was also published as part of the *Sijia yulu*, *Wujia yulu*, and *Guzunsu yulu*. Yanagida himself cites the *Sijia yulu* edition; see Yanagida 1975: 67a (cited in Yanagida 2001: 20). This reference is also mentioned in Yanagida 1983: 188.

[47] See ZZ148.591b8-12 (cited in Yanagida 1985: 24-25).

[48] 汝口不用反記我語、他時定販賣我去 (ZZ148.591b9-10).

[49] Yanagida 2001: 39.

Yanagida's observations are most certainly worth another look.[50] As Yanagida points out, the first instance of the use of the term *yulu* (recorded sayings) to refer to a specific genre of writing occurs in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Biography of Eminent Monks) by Zanning 贊寧 (919-1002).[51] In the *Zutang ji* we also find other more archaic (?) terms such as *yuben* 語本 ("sayings texts"), *yanjiao* 言教 ("oral teachings"), *biejiao* 別教 ("separate teachings"), *guangyu* 廣語 ("extended sayings"), and more simply *yu* 語 ("sayings").[52] Yanagida suggests that a subtle yet important distinction can also be made between *yu*, the medium, and *hua* 話 ("story"), its message.[53] By *hua*, what Yanagida has in mind is the famous anecdote concerning Dongshan's visit to Guishan, according to which the former is said to have asked the latter about National Master Nanyang [Hui]zhong's (d. 775) famous story about insentient things that preach the dharma (*nanyang zhong guoshi wuqing shuofa hua* 南陽忠國師無情說法話).[54] The *Jingde chuandeng lu*'s inclusion of this "story" or *hua* in what it calls the *Nanyang Huizhong guoshi yu* 南陽忠國師語 (Sayings of National Master Nanyang Huizhong) seems to support Yanagida's hypothesis.[55]

Due in large part to its association with Mazu (to whom Yanagida traces the rise

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[50] See McRae 1993-1994.

[51] Yanagida 1983: 185. They occur in the entries on Huangbo (T50.2061.842c) and Zhaozhou (T50.2062.775c). The *Song gaoseng zhuan* was completed in 988.

[52] Yanagida 2001: 23-39. See also Yanagida 1983: 185.

[53] Yanagida took *hua* to refer to the "question and answer" (*mondō* 問答), which often served as the fundamental narrative unit in Chan stories. It should be pointed out here that Yanagida also took *yu* to be a charged term that simultaneously connotes text (medium) and sayings (message). He even suggests that it was born out of an effort to preserve the sense of an ongoing vibrant oral tradition; see Yanagida 2001: 36.

[54] Yanagida 2001: 36. For the anecdote, see Yanagida 1974a: 124a (cf. Powell 1986: 23-24). As Yanagida notes, this anecdote is reproduced in virtually every text that purports to reproduce the sayings of Dongshan. Nanyang Huizhong is recorded in Chan histories as the disciple of the sixth patriarch Huineng. For the significance of this story in the buddha nature of insentient objects debate, see Sharf 2007.

[55] Yanagida 1985: 243 (cf. Yanagida 2001: 36). See T51.2076.438a9-12. Huizhong's story can also be found in his entry in the *Zutang ji* (ZTJ 1/121/10-1/122/14).

of the distinctive features of classical Chan), no other term, however, received as much attention as *yuben*.[56] According to Yanagida, the term *yuben* may have been derived from the older term *jieben* 戒本 ("precept text"), and the two genres, he cautiously suggests, may have therefore even borne a similar function. In support of this ambitious hypothesis, Yanagida first directs his attention to the prototype of all Chan sayings texts, namely the *Platform Sūtra*. As its name already suggests, the *Platform Sūtra* is a self-proclaimed record of a public sermon delivered from an ordination platform (*jietan* 戒壇). But the *Platform Sūtra* was by no means unique in this respect. Shenhui, we may recall, had also delivered a "platform sermon" (*tanyu*) from an ordination platform, which most likely took place during his residence at Longxing si 龍興寺 in Nanyang 南陽 and before he took up residence at Heze si 荷澤寺 in the Eastern Capital of Loyang (745).[57] Why, we may ask, so much interest in ordination platforms especially among the members of the nascent Chan movement? This is a complex problem that far exceeds the scope of this study and since research in this area is currently under way I leave this question to those more qualified than me to answer.[58] Instead, as I have done so far, I will highlight some thought-provoking suggestions made by Yanagida and other scholars.[59]

If we reexamine the *Platform Sūtra* and Shenhui's *Platform Sermon* from the larger perspective of the reevaluation of the Vinaya during the Tang, Yanagida believes that we will discover, as he has, a larger "bodhisattva precepts movement" (*bosatsukai no undō* 菩薩

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[56] The following discussion is a summary of Yanagida 1985: 246-247 (cf. Yanagida 2001: 39-40).

[57] In the long title to this text, Shenhui is identified as the Reverend of Nanyang 南陽和尚. Nanyang was near the Eastern Capital of Loyang. Under imperial command, Shenhui seems to have taken up residence at Longxing si in 720. Twenty-five years later he moved to Heze si at the invitation of the vice-president of the army ministry Song Ding 宋鼎; see Yampolsky 1967: 25-36.

[58] These and other issues are currently being studied by Amanda Goodman in her Ph.D. dissertation tentatively entitled "Why did Bodhidharma Ascend the Vajradhātu?"

[59] See Yanagida 1964 (reprinted in Yanagida 1999: 359-370). Yanagida himself acknowledges his indebtedness to the earlier work of Sekiguchi Shindai (1964) and Suzuki Daisetsu (1938). A name that must also be mentioned in this context is Ōchō Enichi. More recently, this issue has been raised in Groner 1990; Adamek 1997: 204-215, 288-296; McRae 2005; and Barrett 2005.

戒の運動)—McRae prefers to call it an "ordination platform movement"[60]—to which these texts or "manuals for transmitting bodhisattva precepts" (*ju bosatsukai gi* 授菩薩戒儀) properly belong.[61] In point of fact, texts written by those belonging to the so-called Northern School such as the *Dasheng wufangbian* 大乘五方便 (Five Expedient Means of the Mahāyāna; hereafter *Five Expedient Means*) also seem to be products of this movement.[62] Yanagida even contends that Shenhui's *Platform Sermon* is in large part a critique of the *Five Expedient Means*.[63]

Long before these texts were compiled, however, the eminent Vinaya specialist Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) had laid the grounds for this bodhisattva precepts movement in his visionary texts, *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuansi tu jing* 中天竺舍衛國祇園寺圖經 (Jetavana Temple of Vaiśālī in Central India Diagram and Sūtra; hereafter *Jetavana Diagram and Sūtra*) and *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tu jing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (Ordination Platform within the Passes Diagram and Sūtra; hereafter *Ordination Platform Sūtra*).[64] These unique contributions from Daoxuan did not, of course, escape the scrupulous eyes

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[60] See McRae 2005.

[61] See Yanagida 2001: 192-193 and esp. 209.

[62] See Yanagida 1999: 359-360 and Yanagida 2001: 209. For an English translation of the *Five Expedient Means*, see McRae 1986: 171-196. For a very useful summary of the textual history of the *Five Expedient Means*, see McRae 1986: 327 n. 161. For more on the relation between the ordination platform movement and the Northern School; see Shiina 1993b (cited in McRae 2005: 86).

[63] See Yanagida 2001: 197-200. Speaking of the Northern School's involvement with this movement, we must also not forget the *Wuwei sanzang shoujie chanhui wen ji chanmen yaofa* nor, for that matter, should we fail to notice the *Jingangjun jing jingangding yiqie rulai shenmiao bimi jingangjie dasanmeiyexiuxing sishierzhong tanfa jing zuoyong weiyi faze*, *Dapiluzhenafo jingang xindi famen mifa jietanfa yize* 金剛峻經金剛頂一切如來深妙祕密金剛界大三昧耶修行四十二種壇法經作用威儀法則，大毘盧遮那佛金剛心地法門秘法戒壇法儀則 (The Vajra Peak Scripture, the Vajra Pinnacle: The Wondrous Secret of all the Tathāgatas and the Great Samaya of the Vajradhātu, the Scripture on the Practice of the Forty-Two Types of Platform Methods, Being Instructions on the Proper Deportment for Conducting these Rites, Mahāvairocana's Vajra Mind-Ground Dharma Gate, Being the Ritual Procedures for the Secret Precept Platform Methods; P3913) or *Tanfa yize* 壇法儀則 for short; see Yanagida 1999: 360 and Yanagida 2001: 209.

[64] T45.1899 and T45.1892 respectively.

of Yanagida, who even suspects that the first text to receive the honor of being called the *Platform Sūtra* was not the celebrated text of Huineng but Daoxuan's *Ordination Platform Sūtra*. What led Yanagida to make such a claim is an early (in fact, currently the earliest extant) reference to a "platform sūtra" in the entry for the aforementioned Huizhong from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.[65] The reference in question appears at the very beginning of Huizhong's entry wherein we find a short exchange that he shared with an unnamed visitor from the South. Huizhong asked this visitor whether there were any good teachers from whence he came and, if so, what they taught their students. The visitor summarized the "Southern" teaching in the following manner: "The mind itself is the Buddha and the Buddha means awakened [one]. You are equipped with a nature that sees, hears, awakens, and knows. This nature is also apt at raising its brows and blinking its eyes."[66] The visitor also tells us that, though the body is subject to birth and destruction, mind and nature are not. The visitor used the analogy of a snake that sheds its skin and a person that abandons an old house to better illustrate this point.[67] Huizhong, however, was not impressed and even went so far as to liken these Southern teachers to the heretic Śrenika, who similarly spoke of an immortal soul. As he recalls,

> Recently I traveled about, and I met many of this sort. Lately they have been especially numerous. At an assembly of three hundred and fifty people, [I heard that kind of] "my eyes have seen the Milky Way" bragging: "This is the Southern Doctrine." [Someone has] substituted another "Platform Sūtra," added an assortment of vulgar boasts and cut away the holy meaning to delude and confuse later disciples. Have these come to be words of teaching? Bitterly indeed I mourn the doctrine![68]

According to Yanagida, what Huizhong is criticizing here is Shenhui's *Platform Sermon*

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[65] See T51.2076.438a2.

[66] T51.2076.437c17-21.

[67] See T51.2076.437c23-24.

[68] T51.2076.437c29-438a4; trans. Adamek 1997: 212 (with some minor changes).

and the criticism is directed at Shenhui's abuse of Daoxuan's—not Huineng's—"platform sūtra."[69] If Yanagida is correct, then it seems imperative that we give due consideration to the idea of reading the *Platform Sermon* and naturally the *Platform Sūtra* as being closely related to Daoxuan's *Ordination Platform Sūtra* and thus belonging to a similar, if not identical, genre, namely ordination texts (*jieben*).

It seems worth nothing here that there is further evidence to suggest that the *Platform Sūtra* had, in fact, been perceived primarily as an ordination text. If we look closely at the Japanese pilgrim Ennin's 円仁 (793-864) catalogue of texts that he brought from China in 847, for instance, we find the *Platform Sūtra* grouped not with other "Chan" texts but with bodhisattva ordination texts associated primarily with the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Brahma's Net Scripture).[70] In just a decade, however, we find the same *Platform Sūtra* intentionally grouped together with other "Chan" texts in the official catalogue of imported texts compiled by the Japanese pilgrim Enchin 円珍 (814-891).[71] Regardless of whether we wish to classify it under ordination or "Chan," that there was a bona fide connection between the two categories in the early half of the ninth century seems undeniable. This connection, for instance, can also be discerned in the conspicuous

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[69] Yanagida 2001: 210-211. Barrett supports this reading; see Barrett 2005: 115.

[70] See the *Nittō shin gushōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目録 (Catalogue of Sacred Teachings Newly Acquired [during] Pilgrimage in China; T55.2167.1083b1-4), cited in Barrett 2005: 116-117. See also Yampolsky 1967: 92.

[71] Although we must be cautious not to read too much into the catalogues compiled by Enchin, a comparison of these catalogues seems to indicate the cataloguer's growing awareness of the relatedness of the texts that he brought back to Japan. For instance, in the *Fukushū Onshū Daishū gutoku kyōritsu ronshoki gesho tō mokuroku* 福州温州台州求得經律論疏記外書等目録 compiled in 854, Enchin does not place the *Platform Sūtra* next to any other "Chan" text; see T55.2170.1095a18. It seems to be included in a loose group of texts related not to Chan but to Tiantai. Although the writings of Shenhui and a text called the *Damo zong xitu* 達磨宗系図 (Lineage Chart of the [Bodhi]dharma school) were loosely grouped together (T55.2170.1094a20-23), they were separated from Bodhidharma's *Wuxing lun* 悟性論. Five years later Enchin compiled his *Chisō daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智證大師請来目録. This catalogue is far better organized and we not surprisingly find the *Platform Sūtra* grouped together with an impressive list of other "Chan" texts including the above *Damo zong xitu*, *Wuxing lun*, and the writings of Shenhui; see T55.2173.1106b-c. See Yampolsky 1967: 92.

inclusion of the transmission verses (*chuanfa jie* 傳法偈) of six generations of patriarchs from Bodhidharma to Huineng in the *Platform Sūtra*.[72] Although we only find a record of the transmission verses of these six patriarchs in China, the *Platform Sūtra* tells us that the transmission of what it calls the "sudden teaching" (*dunjiao* 頓教) actually goes as far back as the seven buddhas of the past; and, this reference to the seven buddhas, Yanagida contends, is not without significance, for the verses of the seven buddhas had also ostensibly served as the very foundation of the Vinaya piṭaka.[73]

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[72] Yanagida 2001: 40.

[73] In the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 or *Ekkotaragama*, the Buddha informs his audience of the precepts uttered by the seven buddhas of the past in the form of a verse; see T2.125.786a26-787c1. Here we must also mention the so-called *Qifo tongjie jie* 七佛通戒偈 (The Seven Buddhas' Verse that Encompasses the Precepts):

Do not commit the various evil [deeds]	諸惡莫作
Uphold and practice the various good [deeds]	諸善奉行
Purify your thoughts	自淨其意
This is the teaching of all the buddhas.	是諸佛教

sarvapāpasyākaraṇaṃ,
kuśalasyōpasaṃpadaḥ,
sucittaparyavadānam,
etad buddhasya śāsanaṃ.

This verse seems to have been understood as expressing the essence of the precepts was thus immensely popular. It is cited in numerous sources. Most noteworthy in this respect is, of course, the *Platform Sūtra*. There, Huineng is recorded as having asked a Northern School spy what Shenxiu means by precepts, meditation, and wisdom. According to the spy, Shenxiu taught: "Not to commit the various evils is the precepts; to practice all the many good things is wisdom; to purify one's own mind is meditation" 諸惡不作名為戒、諸善奉行名為慧、自淨其意名為定 (Yampolsky 1967: 164). For other references to this verse, see also the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T2.125.551a13-14); *Dhammapada* (T4.210.567b1-2); *Udānavarga* (T4.212.741b24); *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (T12.374.451c11-12); *Dazhidu lun* (T25.1509.192b9-10); *Daśabhūmivibhāṣaśāstra* (T26.1521.92a24); *Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra* (T26.1543.774b9-10); *Abhidharmakośavibhāṣya* (T27.1545.71a26-27); *Chengshi lun* (T32.1646.243c10); Zhiyi's *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義 (Dark Meaning of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma; T33.1716.695c27 and 715c29-716a1) etc. The verse in question is also cited at the very beginning of the so-called *Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀 (Smaller Calming and Contemplation) by Zhiyi; see T46.1915.462b5-6. Curiously, there seems to have been no sense of a locus classicus for this verse. Whereas the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (Corrective Notes on the Rituals from the Four Part Vinaya), for instance, cites the *Zengyi ahan jing* as its locus classicus the *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* attributes the verse to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*; see T40.1804.37b1-2 and T36.1736.358b2-3 respectively. The first two lines of the verse were also often quoted separately, see *Fahua jing yiji* 法華經義記 (T33.1715.588b18, 616b7&9), *Dahui yulu* (T47.1998A890b15);

What implications, however, does all this have for the implied function of the *Platform Sūtra*? An unequivocal answer to this question can be found in this intriguing passage from the Dunhuang copy of the *Platform Sūtra*:

> The Master went to Mout Ts'ao-ch'i and for over forty years converted the people in Shaozhou and Guangzhou. If one were to talk about the number of his disciples, to say several thousand people, both monks and laymen, would not do justice. If one were to talk about the pivot of his teaching, it lies in the transmission of the *Platform Sutra*, and this serves as the authority. Unless a person has received the *Platform Sutra*, he has not received the sanction. The place, date, and name of the recipient must be made known, and these are attached to it when it is transmitted. Someone who does not have the *Platform Sutra* and the sanction is not a disciple of the Southern School. Someone who has not yet obtained sanction, even though he preaches the doctrine of sudden enlightenment, does not know the basic teachings, and in the end will not be able to avoid disputes. Those who have the Dharma should practice it wholeheartedly, for disputations show a contentious mind and are a betrayal of the Way.[74]

Yanagida also points to this passage and surmises that Mazu's *yuben*, like the *Platform Sūtra*, was a sort of initiation document (*denjuhon* 伝授本) that served as physical proof of one's inheritance of the formless precepts (*wuxiang jie* 無相戒) of Huineng, and it is in this capacity that the *yuben* and the *Platform Sūtra* can be likened not only to an ordination text

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Jingde chuandeng lu (T51.2076.230b24-25). For more information on this verse, see Mochizuki 1933-1936: 1916.

[74] Yampolsky 1967: 162. For a creative re-reading of the narrative that includes a narrative about itself that attempts to establish its authority as it dismantles the authority of what came before it, see Cole 2005. Cole's discussion of Mahāyāna literature, however, does not bear directly upon the above passage from the *Platform Sūtra* because, unlike *Lotus Sūtra* or *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the Dunhuang copy of the *Platform Sūtra*, as we can see, promotes a far more specific form of textual practice, according to which one is not expected to accrue merit by upholding and widely disseminating the scripture but to make it the exclusive property of the owner ("the place, date, and name of the recipient must be made known") and hold on to it as proof of sanction and transmission. I eagerly wait for his next publication on Chan literature and their construction of patriarchal authority.

but also, more importantly, to an ordination certificate.[75] Citing this very same passage, Timothy Barrett even argues that we should entertain "the possibility that the *Platform Sūtra* was regarded in part as a talisman."[76] But how does any of this help us understand *zheng* or *zizhi*? To answer this question and arrive, finally, at the main argument of this chapter, we now turn to the year 1125.

Dahui, Illness, and the Tenet of Linji

The year 1125 marks a watershed in the history of Chan and Zen. For, it was this year that Dahui purportedly attained a great awakening under the guidance of his teacher Yuanwu. Although some, with good reason, might wish to object that the awakening of a single individual, as influential as though he may be, hardly qualifies as a turning point in the history of any tradition, I would still insist on its significance because—if we are to trust the traditional account—what was, I believe, nothing short of a "new" *paradigm* for awakening had been established that year. In order to fully grasp the significance of this paradigm shift, if you will, we will have to approach the account of Dahui's awakening from two different angles. First we will have to examine the metaphors that Dahui used to express his awakening and then examine the literary form in which these metaphors are framed. Here, I make what appears to be a rather artificial distinction between content and form for a simple reason—although Dahui's account of his awakening largely stands in *continuity* with the past (i.e., with what we have discussed so far) in terms of its content, the same account, I believe, also stands as a mark of *discontinuity* in terms of its form. This form, as we shall see, is what some refer to as self-narration or autobiography. But, first, let us begin with the content of Dahui's own account of his experience of awakening.

According to the *Dahui Pujue chanshi nianpu* 大慧普覺禪師年譜 (Chronological

[75] Yanagida, however, notes that *Platform Sūtra* does not seem to have served this purpose too long; see Yanagida 2001: 214-215 and Yanagida 2006: 764.

[76] Barrett 2005: 116.

Biography of Chan Master Dahui Pujue; hereafter *Chronological Biography of Dahui*),[77]

[77] To date, the best research on the topic of Dahui and his work is that of Ishii Shūdō. Ishii has published scores of articles related to this topic and I have relied on many of these articles to analyze Dahui's work. Especially helpful in this regard is his study of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (1973a, 1974a, 1975), the *Chronological Biography of Dahui* (see below), and the series of articles that he published on the various historical topics related to Dahui and his disciples in the journal *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (1973b, 1974b, 1977a).

The *Chronological Biography of Dahui* was compiled by Dahui's disciple Zuying 祖詠 (d.u.). In compiling the biography, as we shall see, Zuying relied heavily on the recordings of his teacher's sermons. A preface was prepared by a certain Zujian 祖謙 (d.u.), which is dated 1183. According to the postscript, the chronological biography was revised later in 1205 by Huazang Zongyuan 華藏宗演 (d.u.) to correct the inconsistencies pointed out by Dahui's disciple Yunwo Xiaoying in his aforementioned letter appended to the *Yunwo jitan* (Chapter One, n. 167); see Ishii 1980: 132 (cf. Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 371). The Song edition is no longer extant, but a Gozan edition (a reprint of a Song reprint dated 1253) of the *Chronological Biography of Dahui* is still extant and is currently housed at the Risshō Daigaku Ōzaki toshokan 立正大学大崎図書館 in Japan. A photocopy of this edition can be found in Vol. 1 of Yanagida and Shiiina's *Zengaku tenseki sōkan* series (2000). For the present study, I will be citing the critical edition and translation, which was based on the Gozan edition, prepared by Ishii (1979, 1980, 1982a).

As Ishii points out, there are largely two different sets texts known as the *Dahui pujue chanshi pushuo* (General Sermons of Chan Master Dahui Pujue; hereafter *Dahui's General Sermons*)—a set in one fascicle and another in four fascicles; for the following discussion, see Ishii 1973a. The Taishō canon copy of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* provides us with the set in one fascicle (which corresponds to fascicles 13-18 of 大慧普覺禪師普說 the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui*). The four-fascicle set, however, was more widely circulated as an independent set of texts. It should also be pointed out here that the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* itself exists largely in two different sets of texts—a set in thirty fascicles, which served as the basis for the Taishō canon copy, and another set in two fascicles. The latter, which largely corresponds to fascicles 1-12 from the thirty fascicle set, seems to have also been known as the *Dahui Chanzong zaduhai* 大慧禪宗雜毒海 (Dahui's Ocean of Mixed Poisons of the Chan Tradition) or simply *Zaduhai*. The thirty-fascicle set was printed on several occasions. In the Song, the set was first printed at Dongchan si and Kaiyuan si, which are now more commonly known collectively as the Fuzhou canon.

The making of the Fuzhou canon took many years beginning at Dongchan si (1080-1112) and continued at Kaiyuan si (1112-1115). See also Shiina 1993a: 188-208. At Dongchan si, twelve Chan related texts are known to have been printed, which includes the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *Zongjing lu*, *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanling Record*, *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, the thirty fascicle set of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui*, and the one fascicle set of *Dahui's General Sermons*; see Shiina 1993a: 211-232. A Gozan reprint of the complete set of the Dongchan si edition of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (to which one fascicle from *Dahui's General Sermons* was attached) is currently housed at Kamidaigo ji and a partial set at the Tenri toshokan 天理図書館 in Japan. At Kaiyuan si, one additional Chan text was added to this list of twelve; see Shiina 1993a: 232-256. A Gozan reprint of the complete set of the Kaiyuan si edition of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* is currently housed at Tōji and the Kunaichō and a partial set is currently housed at Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 in Japan. The Dongchan si and the Kaiyuan si are virtually identical with the exception that an extra fascicle of Dahui's general sermon was included in the latter, making it a total of thirty-three fascicles (more on this later). The Taishō canon copy was based on the Ming edition

under the urging of his late teacher Zhantang Wenjun 湛堂文準 (1061-1115) and the great Song statesman Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043-1122) Dahui had come to study under Yuanwu at the grand monastery Tianning wanshou chan si 天寧萬壽禪寺 (or simply Tianning si) in the eastern capital of Kaifeng in the fourth month of 1125.[78] A month later, on the thirteenth day of the fifth month, Yuanwu is said to have ascended the hall (*shangtang* 上堂) and delivered a sermon at the request of a patron by the name of Madame Zhang Kangguo 張康國 (d.u.).[79]

Yuanwu's sermon for Madame Zhang and the autobiographical anecdote (translated in their entirety below) were retold in a general sermon (*pushuo* 普說)[80] that

printed at Baoen si, which in turn was based on the Dongchan si edition from the Song. Unless indicated otherwise, when speaking of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* I will be referring to the thirty-fascicle set in the Taishō canon.

Fascicles 19-24 of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* correspond to his *fayu* 法語 ("dharma talks") and fascicles 25-30 to his famous letters (*shu* 書). These letters—said to have been recorded by a disciple known as Huiran 慧然 (d.u.) and edited again by the layman Jingzhi 淨智, Huang Wenchang 黃文昌 (d.u.)—are probably the best known among Dahui's works and have gain wide circulation independent of his other writings. Several Gozan copies of these letters are still extant and they are commonly referred to as the *Dahui Pujue chanshi shu* 大慧普覺禪師書 (Chan Master Dahui Pujue's Letters; hereafter *Dahui's Letters*). Shiina suspects that a Gozan edition of Dahui's Letters currently housed at Seikidō bunko was used by the Taishō editors as a proof text against which they corrected the errors of the Ming edition; Shiina 1993: 396-397. The Tenri toshokan edition of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* only preserves Dahui's letters. When citing these letters, I will use the critical edition and translation prepared by Araki Kengo (1969) in addition to the Taishō canon copy. According to Araki, a Korean reprint of a Song edition of Dahui's letters bears a colophon dated to 1166; Araki 1969: 252. A brief English summary of Araki's arguments can be found in Shinohara 1997: 194 n. 2. When citing the four-fascicle edition of *Dahui's General Sermons* I will use the photocopy reproduction of the Gozan edition in Shiina and Yanagida's *Zengaku tenseki sōkan* series (1999).

[78] For the influence that Zhantang and Zhang exerted on Dahui, see Levering 2000.

[79] As Ishii notes, in the *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu* there is a record of him ascending the hall for a certain Madame Danei Jingguo 大內慶國; see T47.1997.736a21-b9. However, this sermon does not refer to Yuanwu's use of Liu Gongquan's linked verse (i.e., "a warm breeze comes from the South and a subtle chill stirs up on the tower"). It does appear in another sermon that he prepared for an unnamed *dānapati*; see T47.1997.726c20-727a1.

[80] The rather lay-oriented—addressing the specific needs and interests of lay patrons—nature of the content of these sermons by Dahui has been noted by Miriam Levering (1987). As she notes, the lengthy *pushuo* sermon format seems to have been a relatively late invention, appearing sometime between 1103 and 1274 (Levering 1987: 184).

Dahui himself delivered later at the repeated request of an attendant named Li 禮 (d.u.) or Jinli 近禮.[81] In fact, it was this general sermon that the *Chronological Biography of Dahui* cites in its account of the year 1125 (Master's Age Thirty-Five) and the momentous event that occurred therein.[82] As we learn from Dahui's general sermon, the sermon that his teacher Yuanwu delivered at Tianning si that year proved to be unlike any other that the thirty-five year old Chan adept had witnessed before.[83] According to the opening section of Dahui's general sermon, which is often ignored and neglected in the retelling of Dahui's awakening, Dahui had come to recall his extraordinary experience at Tianning si in the course of explaining Shoushan Shengnian's 首山省念 (926-993) "bamboo stick story"[84] (*zhubi hua* 竹篦話)—a story that Dahui had apparently assigned to Jinli—and the story of Shuiliao's 水潦 (d.u.) great awakening under Mazu.[85] Dahui's analysis of

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[81] According to the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, Jinli was from Sanshan 三山 in Fujian province. He is said to have served Dahui the longest among his attendants; see ZZ137.270b17-18.

[82] See Ishii 1979: 128-131 (cf. Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 346b-348a). For a partial English translation of this entry in the biography, see Yü 1979: 214-215.

[83] According to the convention used in the West, Dahui would have been thirty-four.

[84] The story or koan goes: "if you call this a bamboo stick you offend, but if you don't call it a bamboo stick you are in denial; so what will it be?" 喚作竹蓖則觸、不喚作竹蓖則背、喚作什麼. According to the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, Shoushan gave this koan to his disciple Guisheng 歸省 (d.u.); see ZZ135.744b18-19. Dahui seems to have been fond of this koan; for instance, see Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 145b, 168a, 200b, and 257a; and also the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (T47.1998A.825c21, 825c24-25, 827c5, 827c17, 831b12-13, 856a9-10, 869a27, 870a14-15, 876c27-28, 879c11-12, 881c25, 882a2, 882a15). See also the *Congrong Record* (T48.2004.267c24-25).

[85] Shuiliao or Shuilao's 水老 story can be found, for instance, in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T51.2076.262c8-11) and the the *Sijia yulu* (Yanagida 1974a: 7a). The story goes as follows:

> When Venerable Shui-lao of Hung-chou came to see the Patriarch for the first time, he asked, "What is the meaning of [Bodhidharma's] coming from the West?"
>
> The Patriarch said, "Bow down!"
>
> As soon as Shui-lao went down to bow, the Patriarch kicked him. Shui-lao had great awakening. He rose up clapping his hands and laughing heartily, and said, "Wonderful! Wonderful! The source of myriad *samādhis* and limitless subtle meanings can all be realized on the tip of a single hair." He then paid his respects to the Patriarch and withdrew.

Shuiliao's awakening was particularly elaborate, consisting of a detailed discussion of what Dahui called the four different ways of "entering the stream [wherein] objects are lost and both activity and tranquility are clearly unborn" (*ruliu wangsuo dongjing erxiang liaoran busheng di yangzi* 入流亡所動靜二相了然不生底様子).[86] Having thus analyzed Shuiliao's awakening, Dahui then relayed the following account of his own awakening experience:

> This teaching cannot be attained by pretenders and those who received it through transmission. I myself (lit. "this old fool," *laohan* 老漢) investigated it for seventeen years. Awakening came in bits and pieces (*lingling suisui* 零零碎碎). I had understood their principle (*lihui* 理會) a bit under Yunmen and a bit under Caodong. I was, nevertheless, unable to sever both past and future (lit. "front and back," *qianhou jiduan* 前後際斷). Later, I found myself at Tianning [si] in the capital where I saw the old master (i.e. Yuanwu) ascend the hall (*shengtang* 陞堂) and raise [this case]: A monk asked Yunmen, "what is the place from whence all the buddhas come?" [Yun]men replied, "[where] the East Mountains walk on the river."[87] If it were up to Tianning [i.e. Yuanwu himself], [the reply] would not be so. "What is the place from whence all the buddhas come?" "A warm breeze comes from the South and a subtle chill stirs up on the tower."[88]

Later he told the assembly, "Since the day I was kicked by Master Ma, I have not stopped laughing" (Cheng Chien Bhikshu 1992: 77).

[86] Dahui attributes this to the *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shouleng yan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (The Ten Thousand Practices of the Various Bodhisattvas Understood and Certified by Cultivating the Secret Cause of the Great Buddha Apex Tathāgata, Śūraṅgama sūtra; hereafter *Śūraṅgama sūtra*); see Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 191. For the corresponding passage in the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, see T19.945.128b18-19. In this passage the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara recounts the *samādhi* that he/she attained in the presence of a buddha named Avalokiteśvara. This samādhi, the bodhisattva tells us, is attained by means of hearing. In the "stream" of this *samādhi*, hearing eventually comes to cease and emptiness is attained, but not stopping at emptiness the bodhisattva reaches the extinction of even emptiness and finally comes to attain extinction (i.e., nirvana). For an English translation of this passage, see Lu 1966: 135.

[87] See App 1994: 94. Cf. T545c18-19. Dahui seems to have been particularly fond of this quote; for instance, see Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 170-171, 187b, 210b, and 244b.

At this point, all of sudden I severed both past and future as if a tangled thread of silk had been cut by a single blow of a knife. At that time, I was sweating profusely from my entire body. Although activity was no longer produced, I ended up instead sitting in a place of bare-naked purity (*jingluoluo* 淨裸裸). One day I entered [the master's] room (*rushi* 入室). The old master said, "it is not easy to arrive at such a state. What a pity! Though you have died, you are unable to come back to life. Unable to doubt words and phrases, this is a great illness. Haven't you heard? You have to let go of your hands at a steep cliff. Of your own accord, accept as a matter of course that after [your life] has been cut you shall be resurrected again. You cannot be deceived were you to have faith in this truth."

I said to myself, based on what I have just now attained [I] am already quite lively. It is not something to be had by means of understanding the principle. The old master assigned me to the dormitory for selecting a tree (*zemu liao* 擇木寮) and excused me from [other] duties.[89] As an attendant, along with other literati (*shidafu*), [I] would enter the [master's] room three or for times every day. [The master] would simply raise, "the phrase 'being' and the phrase 'nonbeing' are like wisterias that grow on trees."[90] As soon as someone

[88] This couplet is attributed to the Tang poet Liu Gongquan 柳公權 who engaged Emperor Wenzong's (r. 821-841) challenge to compose a linked verse (*lianju* 聯句). As Levering points out (Levering 2002: 100-101), this story is recorded in fascicle forty of the *Tang shi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (Recorded Occasions in Tang Poetry), an anthology of Tang poems and the stories behind their composition compiled during the Song (1121); see Wang 1989: 1107. For this relatively novel practice of collecting anecdotes concerning poetry composition and its relation to the construction of poetic competence, see Sanders 2006. As John McRae points out (McRae 2003: 172 n. 9), this account is also preserved in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 169.4312a. It should also be pointed out, however, that Dahui was also clearly aware of the provenance of this couplet as he correctly states: "this is the linked verse of Liu Gongquan" (Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 259).

[89] *Zemu* ("selecting a tree") is an allusion to a metaphor from the *Zuozhuan*: one chooses a lord like a bird chooses its tree; see Morohashi 12796.56.

[90] This koan, "phrase of 'being' and phrase of 'nonbeing' are like wisterias that grow on trees" (*youju wuji ru teng yi shu* 有句無句如藤倚樹), seems to have been fairly popular among members of the Yangqi branch including Faghui himself; see T47,1994A.641c17. In the *Yuanwu xinyao*,

opened his mouth he would immediately say, "Not so." Like this for half a year [I] simply devoted myself to investigating [this case]. One day, along with various officials, while having an evening meal (*yaoshi* 藥石) in the abbot's quarters I just held the chopsticks in my hand and completely forgot to drink and eat. The old master said, "this fool is investigating boxwood chan (*huangyangmu chan* 黃楊木禪)—the more it grows the shorter it gets." I then referred to this analogy, "Master, the logic [behind my behavior] is like that of a dog who is attached to a pot of burning oil—although he may wish to do so, he can neither lick it nor abandon it. The old master said, "Your analogy is splendid. This is precisely the adamantine cage (*jingangjuan* 金剛圈) and prickly chestnut shell (*lijifeng* 栗棘蓬).[91] One day I wished to question the old master [so when I] saw him [I] said, "when the master was with Wuzu [the master] had once asked him this story how did master Wuzu answer?"[92] The master refused to say anything. I said, "at that time the master could not have asked when [the master] was by himself. [The master] must have asked in front of an assembly. What prevents [you] from telling [me] now?" The old master thereupon said, "I asked when the phrase being and the phrase nonbeing are like wisterias that grow on trees—what then?" [Wu]zu said, "Draw it though you may it cannot be drawn. Paint it though you may it cannot be painted."

Yuanwu also attributes this koan to Wuzu; see ZZ120.709b1. According to Dahui, Huitang Zuxin 晦堂祖心 (1025-1100) had also received this koan from Wuzu; see Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 255b. Yuanwu and Dahui seem to have been particularly fond of this koan, see the *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu* (T47.1997.641c17, 755b12, 757c28) and the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (T47.1998A.813c23, 837b26, 869a11-12).

[91] In a letter to his disciple Fozhi Duanyu 佛智端裕 (1085-1150) preserved in the *Yuanwu xinyao*, Yuanwu attributes these metaphors to their spiritual ancestor Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992-1049); see ZZ120.704a13-14. For Yangqi's reference to the chestnut shell, see T47.1994A.641c6. Yangqi himself attributes the metaphor to Yungai Zhiyuan 雲蓋志元 (d.u.). According to the metaphor, koans are like the adamantine trap in that they are difficult to "escape" (*tou* 透) and like the prickly shell of a chestnut in that they are difficult to "swallow" (*tun* 吞); see Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 189-190, 216a, 256b.

[92] The Taishō text here is a bit confusing and I have deliberately left some words untranslated. In doing so, I have consulted other versions of this anecdote.

> Again [I] asked, "what if the tree suddenly falls and the wisterias dry out and die—what then?" [Ma]zu said, "they have come to depend on each other" (*xiangsuilai ye* 相隨來也).[93] The moment I heard [the master] raise [this case] I immediately understood its principle. [I] thereupon said, "I got it." But the old master said, "[I] only fear that you may have not yet penetrated the public cases (*gongan* 公案). I said, "I politely request the master to raise [another case]." The old master then raised at will a series of public cases, which were cut down by me with two or three turning [words]. It was like setting out for a journey at an un-boisterous time of great peace—once [you] get going there are no obstructions to bother you. Then the old master said, "now you know that I have not deceived you."[94]

In this remarkable account we see virtually every idea, metaphor, and physical response that we had discussed in the previous two chapters. We also see something that we have not yet seen before. Let us begin with the familiar. In speaking of his awakening experience, Dahui mentions, for instance, the attainment of a state of bare-naked purity (*jingluoluo*), sweating profusely from all over his body (after he finally come to grasp what was presumably the emptiness of self-nature by beating the poisonous drum of Yunmen and Yuanwu), and dying the (great) death. We also see a reference to the illness that results from dying and failing to come back to life from this death. But these familiar expressions appear in a new narrative frame. They appear in what is ostensibly a self-narration. The appearance of this new narrative frame, I think, is important, but not

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[93] This story is drawn from the sayings of Shushan Kwangren 疏山匡仁 (837-909); see ZDJ: 768. For sources, see Levering 2002: 102 n. 22.

[94] T47.1998A.883a11-b16. Other versions of the above story also appear in the four-fascicle edition of the *General Sermons of Dahui*; for instance, see Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 139b-140a, 146b-147a, and especially 187 (which has been translated in Levering 2002: 105-107).

Several decades after his death, the above anecdote was also incorporated, almost verbatim, into the *Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑 (The Jeweled Mirror of Humans and Gods) published in 1230 (ZZ148.127b5-128a1), and again into Dahui's biography in the *Wudeng huiyuan* (ZZ 138.752a8-15). The same anecdote is also found in later sources such as the *Xu chuandeng lu* (Continued Record of the Transmission of the Lamp; T51.2077.649) and *Da Ming gaoseng zhuan* (Great Ming Biographies of Eminent Monks; T51.2062.915c22-916a3).

because it gets us any closer to Dahui, the individual. It is important because the frame *makes it possible* for, but does not necessarily oblige, one to think of illness and the great death as an issue *of* the individual. Before we delve any further into the issue of self-narration and Chan, let us first take another look at Dahui's use of what to us by now is very familiar.

If there are any remaining doubts as to the connection between Dahui's awakening experience, the malady of emptiness, and great death, we need, I believe, only take another brief glance at the oft-neglected opening section of Dahui's general sermon. Although the *Chronological Biography of Dahui* leaves this part of the sermon out of its retelling of Dahui's experience, I believe it is imperative that we investigate Dahui's explanation of Shoushan's bamboo stick koan, for it seems to provide us with the rare opportunity to consider *why* Dahui experienced what he ostensibly did. As I stated earlier, the sermon was offered at the request of Dahui's attendant Jinli. In the sermon we learn that Jinli had had a considerable amount of trouble tackling the bamboo stick koan. In fact, Li was so desperate that he eventually broke down and asked Dahui for help.[95] Noting that Jinli was from Fuzhou where lichees (*lizhi* 荔枝) grew in abundance, Dahui used an analogy (*yuzi* 喻子) that his troubled attendant could easily understand. Dahui told Jinli that offering him help at this crucial juncture would be similar to cutting off a fine lichee with its shell intact and shoving it in his mouth. Jinli burst out in laughter and said, "master, it would be a disaster were I to swallow it and have it stuck [in my throat]." Dahui then said, "even if you did swallow the lichee you wouldn't know how it tastes." Li's response was: "If I did know how it tastes, this would turn into a view and yet another disaster." Dahui, we are told, was very pleased with these two "turning phrases" (*zhuanyu* 轉語) presented by his attendant.

In Dahui's eyes, Jinli's example stood in stark contrast to the Chan practitioners of his day who foolishly believed that masters of their tradition did not have a true dharma

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[95] T47.1998A.882a13-16.

(*shifa* 實法) to offer.[96] Instead, they believed that they could arrive at some kind of understanding (*jie* 解) by means of worldly techniques and subtle skills. If only they could have this understanding then, they thought, they would certainly arrive at an awakening for themselves (*ziwu* 自悟) and only then could they say that they had attained something.[97] But when they failed to attain a state of peace and happiness this way they began to look in views (*zhijian* 知見) and understandings (*jiehui* 解會) for help. This, however, in Dahui's words, was like having a mixed poison (*zadu* 雜毒) enter the mind and, like oil that spoils flour, once it enters the mind this poison is impossible to remove.

Before Dahui had ever learned of these problems, Chan master Zhenjing Kewen 真淨克文 (1025-1102) had already cogently summarized them in his recorded sayings, which Dahui admits to have been particularly fond of citing:

> Nowadays many people attain this serene extinction of mind and body, *severing both past and future. Relaxing and resting as if there is only a single thought for ten thousand years, like an incense burner in an ancient shrine, as if cold and damp*, [they take] this to be the ultimate state (*jiujing* 究竟). [But] how could [you] not know? On the contrary, as a result of the hindrance [caused by] this superior and wondrous state [you] cannot manifest before [you] your own true views and cannot emit the supernatural, bright illumination. Again, [there are those] who are attached to this [idea] that everything [can be subsumed under] 'everyday mind is the Way' and take this as the ultimate tenet. [They thus foolishly claim], heaven is heaven; earth is earth; monks are monks; laymen are laymen; great exhaustion [of thoughts] thirty days and minor exhaustion twenty-nine days.[98]

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[96] For the following summary, see T47.1998A.882a23-b26.

[97] 須是自悟始得 (T47.1998A.882a24-25).

[98] 如今人多是得箇身心寂滅、前後際斷、休去歇去、一念萬年去、似古廟裏香爐去、冷湫湫地去、便為究竟、殊不知、卻被此勝妙境界障蔽、自己正知見不能現前、神通光明不能發露、或又執箇一切平常心是道、以為極則天是天地是地、山是山水是水、僧是僧俗是俗、大盡三十日、小盡二十九 (T47.1998A.882b1-7; emphasis mine). A verbatim copy of these words are, indeed, found in the *Yunan Zhenjing chanshi zhu jinling baoning yulu* 雲庵真淨禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings

When Dahui subsequently described his own initial breakthrough as a "severing of both past and future" and "sitting in a place of bare-naked purity" he therefore seems to have couched his experience in terms much older than himself. If the above account of Dahui's experience is to be taken to be authentic, then it also seems to be the case that his teacher Yuanwu was also already well aware of the need to situate an experience like the one undergone by his disciple Dahui against the background of the old notion of dying and coming back to life. Moreover, when Dahui brings up the story of Yuanwu's first encounter with the *Recorded Sayings of Zhenjing* in his general sermon, he seems to be implicitly suggesting that Yuanwu had learned to perform this reading of the malady of meditation from reading Zhenjing.

Regardless of who began this practice of couching the student's experience in old, contested terms it was clear that the practice was not going to stop with Yuanwu. If the above account of Dahui's experience is, indeed, authentic and the widely accepted view that he had launched a fierce attack on silent illumination with these metaphors is true, then Dahui, it seems, had also followed in his teacher's footsteps. Consider, for

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of Chan Master Yunan Zhenjing; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Zhenjing*) preserved in fascicles forty-two to forty-five of the *Guzunsu yulu*; see ZZ118.745a8-13.

It also seems worth noting here that just before these words Zhenjing cites a familiar line from Yunmen: "Have you not seen the ancient one say, 'on the even ground dead men are innumerable; those who pass through a thicket of thorns are skilled hands.'" As Dahui also goes on to tell his audience, the *Recorded Sayings of Zhenjing* had been just released while his teacher Yuanwu was serving as chief seat under Wuzu. Pleased to find a monk holding a copy of *Recorded Sayings of Zhenjing*, Wuzu is said to have called his chief seat Yuanwu and read out loud the above words of Zhenjing from this book (*yiben wenzi* 一本文字) or, as he also puts it, "a well spoken essence of the dharma" (*shanshuo fayao* 善説法要); see T47.1998A.882b20-23.

The *Guzunsu yulu* edition of the *Recorded Sayings of Zhenjing* actually consists of several texts: a record of his sayings from Shengshou si 聖壽寺 in Junzhou 筠州 compiled by his dharma heir Fashen 法深 (d.u.) and another from Baoning si 報寧寺 in Jinling 金陵 compiled by a dharma heir named Fushen 福深 (d.u.). At the end of this collection we also find Zhenjing's verses compiled also by Fushen. A preface dated 1085 and another dated 1102 are also included at the end of this collection.

In one *shangtang* sermon, Zhenjing provides his audience with an interesting *panjiao*. Shishuang's "rest and relax as if cold and damp," he says, is the enjoyment in extinction enjoyed by the followers of the two vehicles (*ersheng jimie zhi le* 二乘寂滅之樂), Yunmen's koans embody the enjoyment of the bliss of *dhyāna* and the dharma (*faxi chanyue zhi le* 法喜禪悅之樂), and Deshan's blows and Linji's shouts are the enjoyment in compassion, loving kindness, joy, and equanimity of all the buddhas of the three realms (*sanshi zhufo cifeixishe zhi le* 三世諸佛慈悲喜捨之樂); ZZ118.729b16-730a7.

instance, the following anecdote concerning Dahui's disciple Huian Miguang 晦菴彌光 (d. 1155),[99] who also attests to a personal encounter with the great death, albeit in a rather "untraditional" manner. His story goes as follows:

> [Mi]guang one day while attending the master said, "I have arrived in this place, but cannot penetrate through. Wherein lies my illness?"
>
> [Da]hui said, "Your illness is most grave and worldly physicians fold their hands. Why is this? Other people, having died, fail to come back to life. You [on the other hand] only know how to live and have not yet died. If you wish to reach the state of great peace and happiness you must die once to begin to attain [this state]."
>
> [Mi]guang doubted this even more, so he entered the [master's] room.
>
> [The master] asked, "Have you eaten your gruel and washed your bowl? Never mind the proscribed foods for your medicine (*yaoji* 藥忌) and toss me a word."
>
> Mi]guang said, "Destroyed" (*liepo* 裂破)."
>
> [Da]hui let out a terrifying, commanding shout and said, "You again speak of Chan!"
>
> The master (i.e., Miguang) was thus greatly awakened.[100]

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[99] For Huian, see Ishii 1982a: 163. Huian is known to have been Dahui's first dharma and the sanctioning of his experience is, according the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, said to have taken place in 1134, another very important year, as we shall see, for Dahui.

[100] ZZ148.122a3-10. The above account is preserved in the *Rentian baojian*. The compilers of the *Rentian baojian* also note that the story was culled from someone's recorded sayings, but the above account is not found in the a record of Huian's sayings, the *Guishan Huian Guangzhuangyuan heshang yu* 龜山晦菴光狀元和尚語 (Sayings of Venerable Huian Guangzhuangyuan of Guishan), in the *Xu guzunsu yuyao* 續古尊宿語要 (Continued Essence of the Sayings of the Old Worthies) published in 1238; see ZZ119.68b1-71a17. It is recorded, however, in the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, according to which the above encounter took place in 1134; see Ishii 1979: 140-142. Curiously, the version of this encounter recorded in the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, however, does not include the first two lines that specifically deal the notion of illness. The story appears in

More to the point, perhaps, is the correspondence between Dahui and Vice Minister (*shilang* 侍郎) Zeng Kai 曾開 (d.u.).[101] In an undated letter, Zeng introduces himself with the flattering message that his teacher Yuanwu had greatly praised the talents of Dahui in a previous letter that he received while serving his post in Tanzhou 潭州.[102] The vice minister then expresses his regrets about not having had the opportunity to directly receive Dahui's instructions on Chan.[103] Perhaps as a means to impress or to possibly even to test the Chan adept, Zeng goes on to explain his own understanding of awakening in the following manner: "The aspiration and vow to seek salvation are not matters that can be dealt with in the realm of shallow knowledge and understanding. If I were to give up seeking awakening, then there would be nothing more to do. But if I am to seek awakening, then I must directly reach the state that ancient men realized themselves [*qinzheng* 親證]."[104] Note how he uses the word *zheng* here and also make note of what says next: "Only after I reach this state will I be able to consider that as the ground on

other sources with some minor variations. For instance, see T51.2077.686a28-b5 and T50.2062.923b3-10.

[101] Zeng Kai (*zi* Tianyou 天遊) served as vice minister of rites (*libu shilang* 禮部侍郎); for sources, see Araki 1969: 5. See also Ishii 1982a: 166. A penetrating analysis of the letters exchanged between Zeng Kai and Dahui can be found in Shinohara 1997. As Koichi Shinohara convincingly argues, although the Taishō copy of *Dahui's Letters* seems to contain six letters from Dahui addressed to Zeng Kai (which is also how Araki divided the letters in his critical edition), there actually seem to be only four letters. Shinohara believes that the first, second, and third letter actually formed (parts of) one long letter; see Shinohara 1997: 195 n. 5. The letter that concerns us here is presumably the concluding section of this long letter.

[102] Araki, following the account of the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, dates this letter to 1134; see Araki 1969: 12 and Ishii 1979: 140-142. Based on information from Zeng's biography in the *Song shi* 宋史 (History of Song), Shinohara, however, argues that the letter was composed a year later in 1135. According to his biography, Zeng was assigned to Tanzhou in 1127 and it is here that Zeng received the letter from Yuanwu that praised Dahui. Zeng says that he wrote the letter to Dahui eight years after he received the letter from Yuanwu, which would be 1135. As we shall see, this also happens to be a few months after Dahui began his attack on silent illumination; see Shinohara 1997: 183.

[103] This entire letter has been cogently translated into English in Shinohara 1997: 176-177.

[104] 然而立志發願、實不在淺淺知見之間以為不悟則已、悟則須直到古人親證處 (T47.1998a.916b20-22); trans. Shinohara 1997: 176.

which to take a great rest and relaxation [*da xiuxie zhi di* 大休歇之地]."[105] In closing he asks, "How should I conduct spiritual cultivation in the middle of everyday life?"[106]

Dahui's reply to this letter seems to best capture the tone and tenor, not to mention the message, of his virulent critique of silent illumination chan and is therefore worth a closer look. As he warns Zeng, due in large part to the hindrance of intelligence many nowadays "throw down and place in front of themselves the mind that objectifies, and thus cannot get to the crucial point that the ancients reached directly, cut all defilements in half with on strike of a sword, and immediately rest and relax [*xiuxie* 休歇]."[107] "This illness," Dahui hastens to add, "applies not only to wise literati but also to experienced meditators."[108] Dahui then turns the blame for this tendency to intellectualize on "a brand of bald heretics who, without having even cleared their own eyes, just teach people to rest and relax like a dead snubnose-dogwolf."[109] "If [you] rest like this," Dahui tells Zeng, "[you] wouldn't be able to attain rest or relaxation [even] by the time a thousand buddhas were to appear in this world—rather, the mind is led further and further astray."[110] These blind, bald heretics, Dahui continues to complain, teach people

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[105] 方為大休歇之地 (T47.1998a.916b22); trans. Shinohara 1997: 176-177 (with some minor changes).

[106] 日用當如何做工夫 (T47.1998a.916c2-3); trans. Shinohara 1997: 177.

[107] 為利根聰明所障、以有所得心在前頓放故、不能於古人直截徑要處、一刀兩段直下休歇 (T47.1997.918b16-18); trans. Shinohara 1997: 179.

[108] 此病非獨賢士大夫、久參衲子亦然 (T47.1997.918b16-18); cf. Araki 1969: 13-14.

[109] 今時有一種剃頭外道、自眼不明、只管教人死獦狚地休去歇去 (T47.1998a.918a21-23); cf. Araki 1969: 19-20. Dahui often used this analogy of the snubnose-dogwolf to criticize the heretics who taught silent illumination. I borrow the translation "snubnose-dogwolf" (C. *xieju*, J. *katsusho* 獦狚) from Anne Birrell's translation of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經); see Birrell 1999: 63. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* offers the following description of the snubnose-dogwolf: "There is an animal on this mountain [Mt. Northcall] which looks like a wolf, but it has a scarlet head and rat eyes. It makes a noise like a piglet. Its name is the snubnose-dogwolf" (Birrell 1999: 62-63).

[110] 若如此休歇、到千佛出世、也休歇不得、轉使心頭迷悶耳 (T47.1998A.918a23); cf. Araki 1969: 19-20 and Shinohara 1997: 181.

to follow objects and "fasten [their mind]" (*guandai* 管帶) on them, "to forget emotions and silently illuminate" (*wangjing mozhao* 忘情默照), and to illuminate and fasten their minds on objects as they come and go.[111] As a result, they blind themselves and others with their poison. The most important point for this study, however, is articulated in what Dahui has to say next: when these blind fools (*xiayanhan* 瞎眼漢) "teach people to insistently rest and relax as they proceed [in their practice of meditation],"[112] says Dahui, "this is to secure empty tranquility by pushing away thoughts *and to thereby produce understandings.*"[113] As he continues, "when one reaches this state of no-perception and no-knowing through relaxing, he can be likened to dirt, trees, tiles and rocks."[114] "All these illnesses," Dahui asserts, "are not matters that concern those who study the Way."[115]

As he also states elsewhere, "nowadays not only practitioners of Chan but also the literati, who are intelligent, sharp, and extremely well read—each and every one of them suffer from two general illnesses. If they aren't [suffering from] attachment to thoughts then they are [suffering from] forgetting feelings."[116] As he explains, "to forget

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[111] 又教人隨緣管帶忘情默照、照來照去帶來帶去 (T47.1998A.918a25); cf. Araki 1969: 19-20.

[112] 教人硬休去歇去 (T47.1998A.918b16); cf. Araki 1969: 21-22.

[113] 此是守忘懷空寂、而生解者 (T47.1998.918b17); cf. Araki 1969: 21-22. Emphasis mine.

[114] 歇到無覺無知、如土木瓦石相似 (T47.1998.918b17-18); cf. Araki, 21-22. For partial translation and analysis of this passage see Levering 1978: 264-265. An almost identical critique of quelling thoughts and overcoming affliction as the Hīnayāna practitioners do can be found in the Japanese monk Enni's 圓爾 (or Ben'en 辯圓; 1202-1280) *Shōichi kokushi kana hōgo* 聖一國師假名法語 (Vernacular Sermons of National Master Shōitchi), more popularly known as the *Zazen ron* 坐禅論 (Treatise on Seated Meditation). For an English translation of the *Zazen ron*, see Bielefeldt 1995

[115] 如上諸病、非干學道人事 (T47.1998.918b24); cf. Araki 1969: 21-22.

[116] 今時不但禪和子、便是士大夫聰明靈利博極群書底人、箇箇有兩般病、若不著意 便是忘懷 (T47.1998A.884c17-19). As Ishii Shūdō (1973) points out, this schema of the two illnesses of "attachment to thoughts" (*zhuoyi* 著意) or torpor (*hunchen* 昏沈) and "forgetting feelings" (*wanghuai* 忘懷) or excitation (*diaoju* 掉舉) seem to have been generally accepted and eventually taken for granted. As an example he cites the meditation manual (*zuochanyi* 坐禅儀) composed by layman Ruru 如如居士, a copy of which is currently housed at Kanazawa bunko. Layman Ruru, whose surname was Yan 顔, was a disciple of Xuefeng Kean 雪峰可庵, who we know better as attendant Huiran, the compiler of *Dahui's Letters* and *Dahui's General Sermons*. In his meditation

feelings is to fall into the ghost cave underneath a black mountain—in the teachings this is referred to as torpor; to be attached to thoughts is to have [your] consciousness whirl around in confusion—one thought continues to another, [but] even before the former thought has come to cease the next thought continues [in its place]—in the teachings this is referred to as agitation."[117] At the root of both illnesses, however, was a common cause, namely the tendency to draw hasty conclusions about awakening and the Way from shallow understandings of the words of the ancients. For example, the teachers of silent illumination, Dahui tells us, would "cite the words of our patriarchs as proof" (*yin zushiyu zhengju* 引祖師語證據) and claim, "when [you] relax like dirt, trees, tiles, and rocks this is not some profound no-knowing but rather is simply a dazzling alertness; while walking, standing, sitting, and lying down always fasten [your mind onto things]."[118] In point of fact, Dahui cites this very same teaching in his letter to Zeng and warns him that "all this is nothing but a poison that blinds people."[119] Consequently, because literati like Zeng were taught to rest and relax like cold ashes, a withered tree, a strip of white silk, and an

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manual, Ruru speaks of two illnesses—sleepiness and distraction. As a remedy for these two illnesses, like Dahui, he recommends Zhaozhou's dog koan and Shoushan's bamboo stick koan. A similar schema—"indulging oneself and forgetting objects" (*ziyi wangyuan* 恣意忘緣) and "to be perfectly bright with nothing obscure" (*xingxing bumei* 惺惺不昧)—is also used in the "lancet of meditation" (*zenshen* 禪箴) in the *Wumen guan*; see T48.2005.299a28-b6. These two illnesses, we may recall, were also part of the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) to meditation.

[117] 忘懷則墮在黒山下鬼窟裏、教中謂之昏沈、著意則心識紛飛、一念續一念前念未止後念相續、教中謂之掉舉 (T47.1998A.884c19-21). It should be noted here that the expression "ghost cave underneath the black mountain" was used by Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗賾 (d.u.) in his *Zuochanyi* to refer to the tendency to fall asleep if one closes one's eyes during meditation; see ZZ111.920b1-2. Zongze attributes this expression to a fellow Yunmen lineage monk Fayun Yuantong 法雲圓通 or Faxiu 法秀 (1027-1090). See also Bielefeldt 1988: 113, 180.

[118] 歇得如土木瓦石相似時、不是冥然無知、直是惺惺歷歷、行住坐臥、時時管帶 (T47.1998A.867b16-17).

[119] 這般底更是毒害瞎卻人眼 (T47.1998A.918a29).

incense burner in an old shrine,[120] they misleadingly sat in what Dahui cynically called "the deep pit of liberation" (*jietuo shenkeng* 解脱深坑).[121]

As Koichi Shinohara points out, what Dahui seems to have done here is to take a formulation in Zeng's letter—resting and relaxing—and subject it to critical examination in light of the attack that he had recently launched against silent illumination chan.[122] According to scholarly consensus, this attack began around the time Dahui moved to the hermitage Yangyu an 洋嶼菴 in 1134.[123] This consensus is largely based on the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, which states: "at that time fellow disciples [of Chan] set aside wondrous awakening and had scholars torment themselves in serene silence."[124]

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[120] See T47.1998A.884c25-28.

[121] See T47.1998A.885c4-5; cf. Cleary 1977: 127.

[122] Shinohara 1997: 181.

[123] For instance, see Ishii 1974d: 337; Levering 1978: 27; Schlütter 1998: 236, 269; Schlütter 1999: 132. As Dahui himself points out in a general sermon, the heretical teaching of silent illumination flourished in Fujian—where, we may recall, Jinli was from—and he had rejected it during the Shaoxing era (1131-1162) while residing in a hermitage; see T47.1998A.884c25-885a3 and also Schlütter 1998: 269.

[124] 時宗徒撥置妙悟、使學者困於寂默 (Ishii 1979: 140-141). Zhenxie was installed as the sixteenth generation abbot of Mt. Xuefeng 雪峰, northwest of the city of Fuzhou, on the eleventh month of 1130. He was succeeded by a fellow disciple of Danxia Zichun 丹霞子淳 (1064-1117), Qingyu 慶預 (1078-1140), in 1134. During his tenure at Mt. Xuefeng, Zhenxie is said to have attracted over seventeen hundred monks. The next year he retired to a hermitage, Dong an 東菴, on Mt. Xuefeng where he would have continued to exert influence on the monks of Mt. Xuefeng, but the following year he was appointed the thirteenth generation abbot of Guangli si 廣利寺 on Mt. Ayuwang 阿育王 in Zhejiang; see Ishii 1974d: 339 and Schlütter 1998: 197-198. As Ishii points out, the careers of Dahui and Zhenxie overlap to such a degree that it is hard to imagine them not getting into turf wars. For instance, in 1137, Dahui was appointed as thirteenth generation abbot of Nengren si 能仁寺 on Mt. Jing 徑山, an important appointment given its proximity to the capital Hangzhou. In 1145, two years after Dahui was exiled to Hengzhou 衡州 in 1143, Zhenxie was installed as fifteenth generation abbot of Mt. Jing. Following Zhenxie's death under Hongzhi's recommendation Dahui was installed as the nineteenth generation abbot of Mt. Ayuwang in 1156.

Ishii also notes an interesting passage concerning the nun Dingguang 定光 (d.u.) in *Dahui's General Sermons* wherein it is stated that Dingguang had for years studied under Zhenxie and had come to no longer believe in awakening. She came to see Dahui at Guangyin si 廣因寺 where the latter was briefly in residence (1134) and claimed that there is no delusion and no awakening (*wumi wuwu* 無迷無悟). Dahui is said to have lashed out at her; see Yanagida and Shiina

In response, Dahui is said to have composed a polemical tract entitled *Bianzheng xieshuo* 辨正邪説 or, more likely, *Bianxie zhengshuo* 辨邪正説 (Discourse on Distinguishing Falsehood and Truth). The consensus, however, ends here.

For several decades, Dahui's critique of silent illumination has been the subject of many important studies and the focus of these studies has often fallen upon the issue of whom Dahui had attacked in his *Bianxie zhengshuo*. Because the *Bianxie zhengshuo* had until just recently been thought to be no longer extant, various speculations on the identity of Dahui's unnamed foe(s) had been made. Noting the close relations between Dahui and Hongzhi, Ishii Shūdō and Yanagida Seizan, for instance, had advanced the argument that Dahui's target was not Hongzhi (or the Caodong tradition as it had been traditionally believed) but a fellow Caodong master by the name of Zhenxie Qingliao 真歇清了 (1088-1151).[125] As they are eager to point out, their arguments are supported by a statement attributed to the great Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). According to the *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Classified Sayings of Zhu Xi), Dahui had composed a *Zhengxie lun* 正邪論 (Treatise on the True and the Heretical) to attack Zhenxie who had apparently taught people to exclusively sit in meditation.[126] More recently, however, the Chan historian Morten Schlütter has attempted to demonstrate that Dahui's target was not so much Zhenxie, the individual, as the entire twelfth century

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2000: 238b and Ishii 1974d: 338. The *Chronological Biography of Dahui* also mentions her visit to Mt. Xuefeng and her visit to Guangyin si; see Ishii 1979: 140-141.

[125] See Yanagida 1973a and Ishii 1974d. As Schlütter points out, the person to suggest Zhenxie as Dahui's target was actually Takeda Tadashi; see Schlütter 2000: 192 n. 4.

[126] The full account goes as follows: "A long time ago, old Liao taught people to exclusively sit in meditation and old Gao considered this wrong, so he composed the *Treatise on the True and the Heretical* and rejected it. Later, when Gao was at Tiantong [si] old Liao thereupon paid his respects to the venerable master and Gao thus became friend with him. Upon [Liao's] death [Gao] wrote a memorial inscription for him" 昔日了老専教人坐禪、杲老以為不然、著正邪論排之、其後杲在天童、了老乃一向師尊禮拜、杲遂與之同、及死為了作銘 (*Zhuzi yulei* 126: 4853). Zhu Xi appears to have confused Dahui with Hongzhi, here, for it was the latter who composed Zhenxie's memorial inscription; see Hirota 2000a. See also Schlütter 1998: 278. According to the Chronological Biography of Dahui, Zhenxie is said to have invited Dahui to Mt. Xuefeng to deliver a general sermon; see Ishii 1979: 139-141. This has been identified by one scholar (whom we shall discuss below) as what Zhu Xi was referring to when he said Zhenxie "paid his respects" to Dahui; Hirota 2004b: 127.

Caodong tradition to which both Hongzhi and Zhenxie belong.[127]

New discoveries made in recent years may yet again add fuel to the flames of this protracted debate. Following a lead from Mujaku Dōchū's (1653-1744) commentary on *Dahui's Letters* entitled *Daiesho kōrōju* 大慧書栲栳樹,[128] the Zen historian Hirota Sōgen set out to see if it is true that the *Bianxie zhengshuo*, as Mujaku claimed, was included in Dahui's *Zhengfa yanzang* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma) in the form of a *shizhong* 示衆 ("instructing the assembly") sermon.[129] At the very end of the *Zhengfa yanzang* there is indeed a *shizhong* sermon that is clearly incongruous with the rest of Dahui's old case collection, which otherwise consists largely of old cases followed by a short commentary or two by Dahui.[130] Needless to say, Hirota therefore believes that Mujaku was right in suggesting this sermon to be Dahui's long lost text and establishes a

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[127] See Schlütter 1998, 1999, and 2000. Although I cannot do justice to the arguments and evidence presented by Schlütter in the limited space of a footnote, suffice it to say that the most important evidence for making the above claim rests on the term "silent illumination" (*mozhao*) and the catchphrases, "time before your parents were born" (*fumu weisheng yiqian* 夫母未生已前), "beyond the primordial buddha" (*weiyin napan* 威音那畔), and "before the empty eon" (*kongqie yiqian* 空劫已前) in addition those words traditionally attributed to Shishuang Qingzhu (i.e., rest, relax, as if cold and damp etc.). Dahui often used these words and attributed them to the silent illuminators. Schlütter shows that Hongzhi, Zhenxie, and other twelfth century Caodong figures used these words to describe their own enlightenment experience.

[128] Mujaku began compiling this commentary in the fourth month of 1712 and completed it the second month of the next year. He took another year from 1722 to 1723 to reedit the text and published it with the title Kōrōju. The original print blocks are lost but a copy of the text is currently housed at Ryūgein 竜華院 and the Ueno toshokan 上野図書館 in Japan. Mujaku claims that the *Bianxie zhengshuo* is preserved "at the end of fascicle three of the Treasure of the Eye of the True Dharma" 正法眼藏卷第三之下.

[129] The *Zhengfa yanzang*, a vast (661 cases) collection of old cases from various sources, was compiled by Dahui in 1146. To these cases, Dahui added his own capping phrases and prose commentaries. The Zokuzōkyō provides a copy of the Ming edition of the *Zhengfa yanzang*. I will be relying on the photocopy reproduction of a Gozan edition (based on a Song edition) in Yanagida and Shiina 2000.

[130] See ZZ118.148a9-155b14.

very convincing case for identifying it as the *Bianxie zhengshuo*.[131] But the question remains—was the *Bianxie zhengshuo* an orally performed sermon or a treatise written out in ink? Hirota suggests that the original form of Dahui's text may have actually been a *shizhong* sermon, which, he goes on to surmise, was probably delivered during Dahui's short tenure as abbot of Yangyu an in 1134.[132] Building his case upon an earlier point raised by Ishii Shūdō, Hirota also contends that a commentary on the *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 (Inscription on Faith in Mind)[133] attributed to Zhenxie in his recorded sayings is the Caodong master's own polemical tract prepared in response to the *Bianxie zhengshuo*.[134] His argument is mostly based on a conspicuous postscript written by a certain Yiyuan 義遠 attached to Zhenxie's commentary: "During the Shaoxing era (1131-1162) Miaoxi [i.e., Dahui] [accepted] Dongshan [i.e., Wuzu] as true orthodoxy and slandered silent illumination. Jian [i.e., Zhenxie] [thus] raised [this commentary]. One might say that he

[131] As Hirota points out, the same sermon is also found in the "extra" thirty-first fascicle of the Kaiyuan si edition of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui*. Arguing against Ishii's claim that this last fascicle was added later at Kaiyuan si, Hirota suggests that this last fascicle was originally part of the *Recorded Sayings of Dahu*i and was edited out of the collection at Dongchan si. His key evidence, again, comes from Zhu Xi, who reports that Dahui's disciples had removed a letter to famed statesman Zhang Jiucheng 張九成 (1092-1159) and the *Zhengxie lun* from his writings; see Hirota 2000a: 197 and 201. In a later article he has come to reconsider this suggestion; see Hirota 2004b: 133. The sermon is also recorded in a Ming collection of Chan texts known as the *Zhiyue lu* 指月録 (Record of the Fingers Pointing at the Moon); see ZZ148.728b14-736b1.

[132] See Hirota 2000a: 207-210. Hirota's argument is simply that since Dahui had been at Yangyu an for only eight or ten months there simply could not have been enough time for Dahui to write an elaborate treatise. Hirota thus concludes that an oral sermon would have been the only suitable format in which something like the *Bianxie zhengshuo* could have been produced.

[133] T51.2076.457a18-b24; cf. T48.2010.376b377a. As the only known work by the third patriarch, the *Xinxin ming* has received much attention. Copies of the *Xinxin ming* were also found at Dunhuang; S5692, S4037, P2104, and P4638. For annotated Japanese translations, see Nishitani and Yanagida 1972: 105-112 and Kajitani, Yanagida, and Tsujimura 1974: 2-29. For English translations see, among others, Suzuki 1960: 76-80; Clark 1984; Shengyan 1987: 23-29; and Waley 1995.

[134]Hirota provides a very useful overview of all the arguments that have been made so far in Japan concerning the identity of Dahui's foe and also makes a number of intriguing suggestions to strengthen the claim that it was Zhenxiu is his most recent article; see Hirota 2004b.

entered his room, grasped his spear, took his lance, and struck his shield. Witnesses will surely get [the point of Jian's] work for themselves."[135]

Can we, in fact, settle this debate once and for all by taking a look at the contents of the *Bianxie zhengshuo*? Unfortunately, the first thing to catch any reader's attention will, no doubt, be the absence of any specific reference to a teacher of silent illumination by name. This, however, should come as no surprise given the nature of religious polemics in medieval China. Moreover, there is no reason why the *Bianxie zhengshuo* would not be in keeping with the other works by Dahui, which refrain from spelling out the name of the intended target. What the sermon does tell us, however, is the following: "good friends who aren't at that state of [great wisdom and great function] do not illustrate the great dharma even when they truly awaken to and truly witness [this dharma] (*shiwu shizheng* 實悟實證). When they [have to] address [the needs] of people, [however] they cannot help but blind people by pointing to that state to which one awakens for oneself and witnesses for oneself (*ziwu zizheng chu* 自悟自證處). How much more so for those who, not having attained awakening yet, seek proof (*zheng* 證) in learned words? Blinding people does not lie in words. This matter is so difficult that even the indisputable[136] great beings who have [already] arrived here don't have a place to plant their feet. You, immature, dimwitted brigands of demons—how dare you construct such [views] and open your big mouths! Why don't you try to [find] a quiet place, sit on the

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135 當紹興間、妙喜正統東山詆訾默照寂菴、是舉可謂入其室操其戈取其矛擊其盾、覽者當自得之 (ZZ124.655a1-2); see Hirota 2000a: 207. The contents of this postscript had also been pointed out by Ishii; see Ishii 1974d: 339. Schlütter identifies Yiyuan as Wuwai Yiyuan 無外義遠 (ca. 13 C.E.), a disciple of Tiantong Rujing 天童如淨 (1163-1228); Schlütter 1998: 278. Schlütter also questions the authenticity of this commentary and raises the possibility that it may be the product of a Japanese sectarian debate; see Schlütter 1998: 460-461.

136 Here, I take *meiliang* 沒量 to stand for *meishangliang* 沒商量 ("nothing more to consider or speak of").

ground, and carefully figure it all out. Have you reached in [your] mind (*fangcun* 方寸) that place where there is no more doubt?"[137]

Dahui continues to address this critique to those who seek a "taste" (*ziwei* 滋味) of the dharma in scriptures or the words of the ancients. He likens this to "sitting in a hole" (*zuo zia keniaoli* 坐在窠臼裏) from which there is no escape.[138] In Dahui's eyes, not only scriptures and ancient sayings but also exchanges between master and student (*wenda* 問答), substitute replies (*daiyu* 代語),[139] separate replies (*bieyu* 別語),[140] words of praise and censure (*yiyangyu* 抑揚語), and words of criticism (*baobianyu* 褒貶語) all constitute conceptual holes.[141] To this long list of holes he also adds "those who try to taste [the dharma] in that serene and silent place devoid of words and speech," that is, those who "close and hide their eyes and sit motionless like the primordial buddha in the ghost cave beneath the black mountain."[142]

As an alternative, Dahui suggests a mind of equanimity (*pingdengxin* 平等心), which, he claims, can only be known to those who have *zheng*-ed.[143] So important was this

[137] 未得在善知識、實悟實證而大法不明、為人時未免以自悟自證處、指似人瞎卻人眼、況無悟證學語之流、瞎人眼不在言也、此事大難、沒量大人到遮裏無插足處、你小根 無知魔子輩如何敢造次開大口、你試靜處坐地微細揣摩、你方寸裏還實到不疑之地也未 (ZZ118.148a15-b2; cf. Hirota 2000a: 219-220).

[138] ZZ118.148b13; cf. Hirota 2000a: 221.

[139] This often refers to the answers that Chan masters give to their own questions, which they do either because the student cannot answer himself or because the Chan master wishes to take a preemptive strike and forbid the student from answering (and thus falling into the language trap).

[140] This often refers to the answers given by students even after receiving something like a substitute reply from the Chan master.

[141] 向古人言句上得些滋味者、以奇言妙句為窠 臼、於經教中聲名句義上得滋味者、以經教為窠臼、於古人公案上得滋味者、以古人問答代語別語抑揚語褒貶語為窠臼 (ZZ118.148b14-17; cf. Hirota 2000a: 221).

[142] 於寂默無言無說處得滋味者、以閉目藏眼威音那畔坐在黑山下鬼窟裏不動為窠臼 (ZZ118.148b18-149a2; cf. Hirota 2000a: 221).

[143] 遮箇道理唯證者方知 (ZZ118.149b1-2; cf. Hirota 2000a: 224).

point that he immediately states it again: "if there are any people who have not yet *zheng*-ed, then they must *zheng* and [thus] grasp it."[144] He puts it even more bluntly: "once you *zheng* and attain it then you can call yourself a true renunciant."[145] On the other hand, "if the mind does not *zheng* and the mind is directed outwards to grasp at *zheng*, then this is called a heretical renunciant."[146] What does a "*zheng*-ed" mind look like? Dahui describes it this way: "If nothing rises in the mind and there are no attachments to objects then there is no weight. [If] there is no weight then [you will] naturally [arrive at] a place of bare-naked energy where there are no desires and no clinging but rather freedom with respect to objects."[147] To put it differently, "if you truly *zheng* and truly [attain] awakening what kind of discrimination could there be? If you do not [attain] awakening and seek extraordinary understandings [you] do not truly *zheng* and truly [attain] awakening."[148] Trying to enter this vast and limitless state with a limited mind (*xianliangxin* 限量心), Dahui adds, is like trying to scoop up the entire ocean with a small calabash.[149] But then how is one to *zheng*? A great bulk of the sermon, I believe, is implicitly speaking to this very question, to which it seems to offer a rather simple reply—study the old cases properly. To establish this point, the sermon is actually devoted to providing a long list of old cases and sayings, the manner in which they are often named, classified, studied, and analyzed by students of Chan. What Dahui hoped to demonstrate by doing so was the consequent mishandling of the cases and sayings of old. Recycling a previous metaphor,

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144 諸人若未證、直須證取 (ZZ118.149b2; cf. Hirota 2000a: 224).

145 證得了方得名為真出家兒 (ZZ118.149b2-3; cf. Hirota 2000a: 224).

146 若心不證、向心外取證、此名出家外道 (ZZ118.149b3; cf. Hirota 2000a: 224).

147 若於心無所起、於法無所著、則無所重、無所重則自然赤骨力地無欲無依於法自在 (ZZ118.149a9-11; cf. Hirota 2000a: 223-224).

148 你若實證實悟、有何差別、你若不悟、求奇特解會、不實證實悟 (ZZ118.149b11-12; cf. Hirota 2000a: 224-225).

149 以限量心欲入此廣大境界、縱然入得、如持蠡酌海 (ZZ118.149b15; cf. Hirota 2000a: 226).

Dahui thus calls this complicated textual practice of taking one saying or case to elaborate on another "ocean calabash chan" (*hailierchan* 海蠡兒禪).[150]

It thus hardly comes as a surprise that Dahui's remedy for this misguided practice was to suggest a prolonged battle with a *single* story or, better still, a *single* "critical phrase" (*huatou* 話頭) from that story. It also should not come as a surprise that Dahui had cut out all traces of interpretive and exegetical endeavor from this practice of "observing the critical phrase" (*kanhua chan* 看話禪). His instructions for Military Affairs Commissioner (*shumi* 樞密) Fu Zhirou 富直柔 (d. 1156) capture this radical reworking of koan practice well:

> Just once put down the mind of deluded ideas and perverse notions, the mind of thinking and discrimination, the mind that loves life and hates death, the mind of opinion and understanding, the mind that enjoys calm and dislikes bustle. Then where you have put down [such minds], observe this story [*huatou*]. "A monk asked Zhaozhou, 'Does a dog have Buddha nature?' Zhaozhou answered, 'No [*wu*]'" This one word, "no" is a weapon that will crush a multitude of perverse perceptions. Do not try to understand it through having or not having [*you wu*]; do not try to understand it with reason. Do not rely on the mind to think it through or figure it out; do not be fixated on raising the eyebrows and blinking the eyes. Do not try to make your way on the path of words; do not just float in idleness. Do not simply assent to its source; do not cite proof [*zheng*] from writings.[151]

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[150] See ZZ118.150b18; cf. Hirota 2000b: 150-151.

[151] T47.1998A.921c5-c13; trans. Bielefeldt 1988: 102 (with some minor changes). According to the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, Fu received this letter from Dahui in 1138; see Ishii 1980: 103-104. The Korean Sŏn master Chinul 知訥 (1158-1210) and his chief disciple Hyesim 慧諶 (1178-1234) showed great interest in the passage quoted above (Buswell 1983: 245-246, 253 n. 1, and 338). Hyesim even wrote a short treatise on the passage entitled *Kuja mubulsŏng kanbyŏng ron* 狗子無佛性看病論 ("A Treatise on Analyzing the Illnesses of the 'A Dog Does Not Have Buddha Nature' *Hwadu*"); see *Hanguk pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 6 (Seoul: Dongguk Taehak ch'ulp'an, 1994): 69-70. This treatise analyzes the above passage in terms of illnesses (each sentence than begins with a "do not" constitutes an illness). For more information on Hyesim, see Buswell 1983: 30-32.

In another letter to the military affairs commissioner, Dahui even insists that this practice has therapeutic effects as well. If the two illnesses of torpor and excitation, for instance, rise while sitting quietly in meditation, Dahui specifically recommends Zhaozhou's "no" as an effective remedy.[152]

Although Dahui was particularly fond of using this general typology of torpor and excitation in his diagnosis of the malady of meditation, as I stated earlier, he also seems to have believed that there was a common problem underlying both illnesses, namely discursive understandings (*jiehui* 解會), deliberation or ratiocination (*shangliang* 商量), and excessive exegetical zeal. This is clearly what Dahui had in mind when he repeatedly spoke of the intelligence and cunning of the literati. Dahui's analysis of layman Juren 居仁, Lu Benzhong's 呂本中 (1084-1145) illness in his aforementioned letter to Vice Minister Zeng is a good case in point. "Nowadays," says Dahui, "many a literati take calculations (*siliang* 思量) and strategies (*jijiao* 計較) as their cave-dwelling. They hear these stories and say 'isn't that falling into emptiness?' (*mo luokong fou* 莫落空否) .... Recently, [I] saw Lu Juren in Jiangxi. Juren had set his mind on these tales for quite a while and had also [succumbed to] a bad case of this illness. How could he not be intelligent? [So] Zonggao gave it a try and asked him, 'you fear of falling into emptiness, [but] is the subject who fears empty or not empty?'"[153]

Although his observing the phrase method may thus leave one with the impression that Dahui was advocating the agnostic practice of shunning all forms of intellectual activity and advocating a sublime experience of awakening instead, this view, I would like to argue, is completely unfounded. In fact, Dahui is known to have been very critical of "extraordinary experiences" (*jite zhi xiang* 奇特之想) like the great death.[154] In his *shizong* sermon for layman Dongfeng 東峰, Controller General (*tongpan* 通判) Chen Zizhong 陳次仲 (d.u.), Dahui makes this very clear: sitting in a ghost cave underneath a black mountain, heretical teachers call this practice "constantly illuminating in silence,"

[152] See T47.1998A.922b3-6; cf. Araki 1969: 57-58.

[153] T47.1998A.917c1-6; cf. Araki 1969: 14-15.

[154] See T47.1998A.919c15-26 passim.

"being like a man who has died the great death," "the matter before your parents were born," "the matter before the empty kalpa," or "the message of the primordial buddha."[155] They gather such idle talk and long-winded phrases, deliberate over and construct a truth in their heads, transmit it and call it the tenet. But how could they not know, Dahui asks, that this matter can only be personally *zheng*-ed and personally awakened to?[156] Only then, he says, is it the ultimate state (*jiujing*). Of course, one could, he adds, "transmit and hand down just one word or half a phrase and construct extraordinary understandings, profound understandings, and secret understanding, but this would still not be the true dharma."[157]

So what does Dahui mean by *zheng*? Like Wuzu, Dahui seems to have also had the path of seeing and path of cultivation in mind when he spoke of *zheng* and *zizhi*. In a general sermon prepared at the request of a certain Jingda Daoren 淨達道人, for instance, Dahui contends that "I personally see and personally witness (*wo qinjian qinzheng* 我親見親證) [the empty, the provisional, and the middle propounded by Zhiyi], hence it is said that '[first] the path of seeing [*darśanamārga*] and then the path of cultivation [*bhāvanamārga*].'"[158] As he continues, "in order to attain the truth and mutually resonate with the Way one [must] be like a person who [undergoes] a feverish illness—[he] must [undergo] a bout of sweat throughout [his] entire body and the illness shall thereupon be removed."[159] In other words, to *zheng* or "bear witness to" emptiness was not so much to have a vision of it or to experience it in the Cartesian sense of the term as to *personally* carry it out and thus be—viscerally—quite certain of it.[160] For Dahui, to *zheng* something,

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[155] 坐在黒山下鬼窟裏 喚作默而常照、又喚作如大死底人、又喚作父母未生時事、又喚作空劫已前事、又喚作威音那畔消息. See T47.1998A892a21-24.

[156] 卻將許多閑言長語、從頭作道理商量、傳授一遍、謂之宗旨. See T47.1998A.892a29-b1.

[157] 纔有一言半句作奇特解玄妙解祕密解可傳可授、便不是正法 (T47.1998A.892a29-b1).

[158] Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 253.

[159] Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 253b.

then, is not to have an extraordinary experience like rest and relaxation—an experience, he claims, that was produced from understandings and misleadingly handed down in a phrase or two—but to *make* even one ancient critical phrase like Zhaozhou's "no" *one's own*. As Dahui himself puts it, one has to "personally see and personally *zheng* it." But in speaking of *zheng*, what we need to keep in mind is the fact that both observing the phrase and silent illumination are *textual* practices that were recommended to students who took the study of the recorded sayings of the ancient worthies for granted. In short, Dahui's criticism was directed not so much at the *content* of what the silent illuminators were saying—Yuanwu, we may recall, had used the same metaphors to speak of awakening—as the *manner* in which they were saying it.

Dahui did not hesitate to explain the proper manner of *zheng*-ing something. According to Dahui, to personally *zheng* emptiness, one cannot rely on the words of others. Rather, one had to know it for oneself "like a person who drinks water and knows whether it is cold or warm for himself" (*ru ren yinshui lengnuan zizhi* 如人飲水冷煖自知).[161] As he tells the Administrative Clerk (*jiyi* 計議) Qian Zihui 錢子虛 (d.u.), for instance, "the dharma cannot be seen, heard, realized, or known. If you proceed to see, hear, cognize, and know, then this is to see, hear, cognize, and know and not to seek the dharma. If you have already transcended seeing, hearing, cognizing, and knowing, then what is there to call the dharma?[162] Arriving here is like a person who drinks water and

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[160] The dangers of hastily applying the Cartesian sense of experience to the study of religion are well documented. For instance, see Katz 1978 and 1983; Proudfoot 1987 and 2004; and Sharf 1995 and 1998. These debates, however, seem to have little or no bearing on Dahui's understanding of "experience"; for, as we may observe in his definition of the practice of observing the critical phrase, Dahui was less interested in the gap that divided language and "experience" than the curious *ability* of language to capture its own impotence and inability to represent the truth. What Dahui was advocating, in other words, was a mysticism of the letter, if you will.

[161] I will cite more examples below, but also see T47.1998A.921a27-28 and 942a9.

[162] To see (*dṛṣṭa*), hear (*śruta*), cognize (*vijñāta*), and know (*mata*) is a set expression used, for instance, in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* to refer to the act of perception. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* tells us that the Vaibhāṣikas define perception as follows: through the eyes, ears, will, and consciousness, along with the other three places of *zheng*—these are called to see, hear, know, and cognize 由眼耳意識、并餘三所證、如次第名為、所見聞知覺 (T29.1558.87b24-25; cf. La Vallée

knows whether it is cold or warm for himself. Only if you personally *zheng* and personally [attain] awakening can you acquire a vision of [the dharma]."[163] He then goes on to warn Qian about the two illnesses of torpor and excitation.[164]

In a letter to Instructor (*jiaoshou* 教授) Yan Zijing 嚴子卿 (d.u.),[165] Dahui again raises the issue of knowing the truth for oneself in the context of criticizing the teaching of silent illumination. These "fools without nostrils" (*wu bigong bei* 無鼻孔輩), Dahui laments, teach the literati to idly sit and call this "illuminating in silence." When they recognize impressions left by light (*guangying* 光影) on their eyelids they think they got something and simply go insane (*kuangfa* 狂發). As a corrective to this misunderstanding, Dahui sensibly cites the following case often referred to as "Yunmen's two illnesses" (*Yunmen liangbing* 雲門兩病):

> When the light does not penetrate and escape, there are two types of illness. When all places are not clear and an object appears before your face, this is one. Having penetrated the emptiness of all dharmas, it will appear to be fuzzy as if there were an object. This is also because the light did not penetrate and escape. Again, the dharma body also has two types of illnesses. Having attained the dharma body, the self still remains because your attachment to the dharma is not forgotten. You will thus fall into the trenches of the dharma body, this is [the other] one. Even if you are able to directly penetrate it, letting go won't do.

Poussin 1988-1991: 653). Here, *zheng* is used to refer to act of perception in general. The Sautrāntikas offer this (re)definition: "that which is immediately perceived by the five material organs, is seen, *dṛṣṭa*; that the consciousness of which is transmitted to us by another, is heard, *śruta*; what is admitted by reason of correct reasoning, is *mata*, known; and what is perceived by the mental organ is cognized, *vijñāta* (La Vallée Poussin 1988-1991: 654-655; cf. T29.1558.87c19-21). In Xuanzang's Chinese translation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, in knowing (*zhi* 知), "admission via correct reasoning" is translated as *xianzheng* 現證 (*abhisamaya*).

[163] 法不可見聞覺知、若行見聞覺知、是則見聞覺知非求法也、既離見聞覺知外、卻喚甚麼作法、到這裏如人飲水冷煖自知、除非親證親悟方可見得 (T47.1998A.884c12-15).

[164] This general sermon for Qian may have been delivered in 1156 at Tiantong si; see Ishii 1980: 119-120.

[165] This letter was written in 1145 while Dahui was in exile in Hengzhou; Ishii 1980: 111.

> Examining carefully in the days to come what kind of vital breath you have is also an illness.[166]

After citing this entire case, Dahui writes: "And yet those who study the true dharma nowadays take penetrating the dharma body as the highest principle and even conversely consider Yunmen [himself] to be an illness. [But they] do not know what is produced once one has penetrated the dharma body. [If you] arrive here, like a person who drinks water and knows whether it is cold or warm for himself, do not ask other people, [for] asking others is a disastrous matter."[167]

In fact, one did not, Dahui claims, have to be conversant with the theories of Chan or exhaust one's energy by looking beyond one's own immediate affairs to find enlightenment. As Dahui informs layman Miaoming 妙明, Li Daxing 李大性 (*zi* Bohua 伯和 d.u.), "when you conserve energy while [attaining] enlightenment in the midst of everyday affairs this is precisely when [you] learn that this is where you gain energy. In this place where [you] gain energy [you] will conserve limitless energy and, likewise, in this place where [you] conserve energy [you] will gain limitless energy. These truths can neither be explained to others nor disclosed to others for them to acquire. [This] place where [you] conserve energy and gain energy is like a person who drinks water and knows

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[166] 光不透脱、有兩般病。一切處不明、面前有物是一。透得一切法空。隱隱地似有箇物相以。亦是光不透脱。又法身亦有兩般病。得到法身為法執不忘、已見猶存。墮在法身邊是一。直饒透得、放過即不可。子細點檢將来、有甚麼氣息、亦是病 (T47.1998A.937a6-12); cf. Araki 1969: 187-188. For Yunmen's case in the *Blue Cliff Record*, see T48.2004.233c27-234c7; cf. Cleary 1977: 46-50.

Yunmen seems to have had a deep interest in the topic of illness. Several dialogues that bear upon this issue, for instance, appear in his recorded saying: Case 69. Someone asked, "How is the buddha-and-patriarch-illness to be healed?" "Find out what's wrong, and it will all come together." "How is it to be healed?" "Fortunately you're strong!" (App 1992: 119); Case 98. Master Yunmen entered the Dharma Hall and said, "A bodhisattva striving for wisdom must be able to know the illness of sentient beings; then he will also be capable of knowing [his own illness], the illness of the bodhisattva striving for wisdom. Well, if there is someone here who can understand this, he ought to step forward and try demonstrating it to all of us!" (App 1994: 132).

[167] 而今學實法者、以透過法身為極致、而雲門返以為病、不知透過法身了合作麼生、到這裏如人飲水冷煖自知、不著問別人、問別人則禍事也 (T47.1998A.937a12-15); cf. Araki 1969: 187-188.

whether it is cold or warm for himself."[168] He also tells the layman, "Miaoxi [i.e., Dahui], throughout his entire life, has only taught this place of conserving energy to people . . . . Where I gain energy other people do not know; where I conserve energy other people also do not know."[169] In a letter to Judicial Commissioner (*tixing* 提刑) Zhang 張 (d.u.) Dahui repeats this teaching almost verbatim and then cites the following words of a former worthy: "if [you] verbalize *zheng* then [you] will not be able to demonstrate it to people; if [you] explain Principle then [this] is not *zheng* and [you] will not comprehend it."[170] Elsewhere he attributes these words to the great Huayan exegete Chengguan.[171] As he had told these other laymen, Dahui also reminds Vice Chancellor (*canzheng* 參政) Li Bing 李邴 (*zi* Hanlao 漢老; 1085-1146)[172] that this practice of "conserving energy" (*shengli* 省力) and being like a person who drinks water and knows whether it is cold or warm for himself can only occur *in the midst of everyday affairs.*[173]

In sum, what Dahui is asking his followers—and, although his letters are mainly addressed to literati, we must bear in mind that the followers that we addressed in his sermons were not just literati but monks and nuns as well[174]—to do is to study the old

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[168] 覺得日用處省力時、便是學此道得力處也 得力處省無限力、省力處卻得無限力、這些道理 說與人不得、呈似人不得、省力與得力處 如人飲水冷煖自知 (T47.1998A.911b27-c1). This dharma sermon (*fayu* 法語) was delivered in 1159; see Ishii 1980: 125-126. For layman Miaoming, see Ishii 1982a: 158.

[169] 妙喜一生只以省力處指示人 . . . 我得力處他人不知、我省力處他人亦不知 (T47.1998A.911c2-4); cf. Araki 1969: 105-106.

[170] 先德云、語證則不可示人、說理則非證不了 (T47.1998A.927c10-11); cf. Araki 1969: 105-106.

[171] See Ishii 1992: 107, 349 n. 85. As Ishii points out, what Dahui is referring to here is probably the *Wutaishan chenguo dashi Chengguan da huangtaizi wen xinyao* 五臺山鎮國大師澄觀答皇太子問心要 (Protector of State and Great Master of Mt. Wutai Chengguan's Reply to the Crown Prince's Questions Regarding the Essentials of the Mind); see T51.2076.459c7-8.

[172] See Ishii 1982a: 165.

[173] See T47.1998A.920b28-29; cf. Araki 1969: 42.

[174] The general historical framework that Schlütter (1999 and 2000) uses to study Dahui's attack on silent illumination is that of competition for literati support. But to reduce Dahui's work to his

cases and sayings of Chan masters, but to do so without the help of reified strategies of exegesis and doctrinal classification. He attributes the growth of this dependency on bookish learning, as we have seen, to the teachers of silent illumination, who mistook an *upāya* or textual strategy (i.e., silent illumination) for the truth. Dahui adamantly opposed this sort of knowing, which in his mind consumed an uncessary amount of energy, as an illness in disguise and proposed instead the practice of concentrating one's efforts on a single critical phrase. The proper way to approach this phrase was to avoid the intellectual scaffolding that has grown up around old cases like tangled vines (*geteng* 葛藤) and to approach them more directly by bearing witnessing to (*zheng*) the truth of these old cases for oneself. As proof, Dahui, as we have seen, offers a "candid" narration of his own awakening experience.

What is truly remarkable about Dahui's self-narration is that he turns this critical gaze upon himself. As he was wont to admit, Dahui had himself foolishly used the words of his teacher ("a warm breeze comes from the South and a subtle chill stirs up on the tower") to penetrate another ("what is the place from whence all the buddhas come?). As a result, he found himself in a place of bare-naked purity where he lay "dead" and gravely ill. Fortunately, with the assistance of his teacher Dahui was able to recover from his malady of meditation and finally *zheng*. Although there is no need to question the veracity of this narrative (since that would get us nowhere), there does seem to be a potential problem with this narrative that we need to confront: why does Dahui's experience seem to reflect his harsh criticisms of the great death and silent illumination? In other words, if Dahui did, indeed, arrive at this critique only after his confrontation with the growing number of students engaged in silent illumination in 1134, why is it that we find this understanding almost perfectly reflected in his own personal experience of awakening that purportedly occurred almost a decade earlier?

efforts to garner literati support fails to take into consideration the variety of mediums (and intended audiences) that he used to voice his concerns about silent illumination. It also fails to explain, for instance, the fact that the first instance of his attack on silent illumination and consequent suggestion of using the critical phrase appears not in the context of offering instructions to literati but to a nun who also happens to be Dahui's first dharma heir; see Levering 1999.

There is no denying that Dahui's account of his awakening experience is a stylized one. The identity of the person ultimately responsible for crafting this narrative may also never be known with any certainty. We are also at the mercy of a disembodied voice recorded in carefully edited texts, which, to make matters worse, come to us only through the mediation of those who have much to gain and much to lose in producing such texts. All these interpretive handicaps, notwithstanding, we can and must attempt to come to terms with this problem of why Dahui's experience looks the way it does. Here, I would suggest that the key to answering this problem lies not in Dahui but in the larger intellectual context from which he and his teacher Yuanwu emerged. We have seen that the soteriological value of the great death (and hence no mind) had already been rendered suspect well before Dahui's time. Before Dahui ever began to frequently employ the term *zheng* and *zizhi* to speak of the proper understanding of the Way, others like Fazang, Zongmi, and Yanshou to name but a few had already used these terms for similar, if not identical, purposes. What I would suggest, then, is that Dahui's awakening experience reflects not so much the polemics in which he engaged around 1134 as the concerns about dying great death and breaking into a sweat to realize emptiness, which emerged much earlier. In fact, I would even go so far as to suggest that these same concerns were carried over into his battle with silent illumination. I would thus contend that what mattered to Dahui was not so much *who* was "ill" as what it *meant* to be "ill." Consequently, although I agree with Schlütter that we should expand the target of Dahui's attack (perhaps even beyond the twelfth century Caodong tradition),[175] I feel more inclined to agree with the Zen historian Carl Bielefeldt who argues that the description of silent illumination in Dahui's writings "functions as a foil for the author's own position and surely tells us more about his Chan than it does about the actual teachings of Hongzhi."[176]

[175] Yanagida, for instance, traced the various ideas criticized by Dahui back to Shenhui and Linji and made note of the fact that they may even represent the mainline tradition of Chan; see Yanagida 1976c: 12-13 (noted in Shinohara 1997: 190).

[176] Bielefeldt 1988: 99.

To conclude our investigation of the content of Dahui's awakening experience I now turn to a relatively short yet important text known as the *Linji zhengzong ji* 臨濟正宗記 (Record of the True Tenet of Linji), which I translate in its entirety below:

> Since the time of Ma[zu] and Huangbo the true tenet of Linji has set forth the great capacity (*daji* 大機) and great function (*dayong* 大用). It escapes the net and leaves the den, prances like a tiger and moves swiftly like a dragon, flying like stars and striking like lightning. Folding and unfolding, grasping and letting go—all are based on one's original lot (*benfen* 本分), which forever endures and remains clear (*mianmian didi* 綿綿的的). Reaching Xinghua and Fengxue,[177] [the tenet] was sung with ever more intensity and [its] high capacity became more lofty and steep. Xihe teased the lion; Xianghua forcefully wielded [the sword] of the adamantine king. Unless one enters deeply into the secret chamber (*kunao* 閫奧) and personally receives the record of the seal [of transmission] (*qin shou yinji* 親受印記), one cannot know its outline (*duanni* 端倪).
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> The uninitiated took it upon themselves to name what they merely saw, only to add to empty disputes. Generally speaking, one [can] bear the burden of shooting up to the sky or the exalted [state], lift oneself up beyond conventions, bring people to submission without a battle, kill people without even blinking an eye, yet even this won't come close to its [i.e., Linji's tenet] inclinations. How could moving the stars, altering the constellations, turning the wheel of Heaven, and spinning the axis of earth [do any better]? Therefore, [they say] reveal the three mysteries, three essentials, four catchphrases, four [levels of] hosts and guests, jeweled sword of the adamantine king, crouching lion, the shout that does not function as a shout, shadow of the reed from the testing pole, and distinguishing guest and host, illumination and function, with

[177] Xinghua Zunjiang 興化尊獎 (830-888) was a leading disciple of Linji and Fengxue Yanshao 風穴延沼 (896-973) was a leading disciple of Xinghua.

a single shout.[178] [All] were put to use at once. So many technical terms (*luosuo* 落索) have been assessed, commented upon, and explained by a number of schools of thought. [But] how could [you] not know? In our king's storage no such blade exists. When it is brought out as a teaser, [they] simply blink their eyes [in wonder]. Always, those other more talented adepts tally with, witness, test, and acknowledge [the tenet]; they tackle it from the front and raise it from the side. Always, [they] returned to their original lot and the seed of their grass. How could you temporarily [rely on] steps and intermediaries?

For instance, when Baoshou opened the hall (*kaitang* 開堂) [i.e., began to teach] Sansheng pushed a monk and [Bao]shou hit him. [San]sheng said, "if you treat a person like this not only will you blind this monk but you will also blind everyone in the city of Zhenzhou." [Bao]shou tossed down the staff and returned to the abbot's quarters.[179] Xinghua saw a fellow that he used to study with (*tongcan* 同参) approaching and gave out a shout. The monk also gave out a shout. [Xing]hua shouted again. The monk shouted again. [Xing]hua said, "you blind fool!" The monk asked the meaning of [this comment], and he

[178] The three mysteries and the three essentials (*sanxuan sanyao* 三玄三要) appear in the *Linji lu*; T47.1985497a15-20 (cf. Watson 1999: 19). See also the *Wujia yulu* edition (Yanagida 1974a: 91b). Neither the four catchphrases (*siliaojian* 四料簡/揀) nor the four [levels of] host and guest (*sibinzhu* 四賓主), as a term, appear in the *Linji lu*, but they seem to have been coined by Fengxue; see ZGD: 461 and 601 respectively. Indeed, in his recorded sayings preserved in the *Guzunsu yulu*, we find an unidentified interlocutor asking Fengxue about the "four types of catchphrases" (*sizhong liaojianyu* 四種料簡語); see ZZ118.241b7-14. What Fengxue analyzes is the following passage from the *Linji lu*: T47.1985.497a22-29 (cf. Watson 1999: 21-22). The term four [levels of] hosts and guests are attributed to Fengxue in his disciple Shoushan's recorded sayings in the *Guzunsu yulu*; see ZZ118.252b17-253a12. Shoushan also attributes the four catchphrases to Fengxue; see ZZ118.253a12-17. The jeweled sword of the adamantine king, crouching lion, a shout that does not function as a shout, and the shadow of the reed from the testing pole are often referred together as Linji's four shouts. The four shouts appear in the *Linji lu*; T47.1985.504a26-29 (cf. Watson 1999: 98). See also the *Wujia yulu* edition (Yanagida 1974a: 91a).

[179] Baoshou 寶壽 (d.u.) is said to be the disciple of Baoshou Yanshao 寶壽延沼 (d.u.), a disciple of Linji. Sansheng 三聖 refers to another disciple of Linji by the name of Huiran 慧然 (d.u.) of Sanshengyuan 三聖院. The above story is also preserved in Huiran's entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*; see T51.2076.295a11-14.

was immediately hit and kicked out of the dharma hall. An attendant asked, "what mistake did he make?" [Xing] hua said, "he had both the provisional and the true. I took my hands and moved them across his face twice, but he didn't understand. If I don't hit a blind fool like this, when else would I do so?[180]

Observe here the true colors of the tenet and style [of our school] (*zongfeng* 宗風)—so far and absolutely transcendent. It does not value strategizing (*zuolue* 作略) and only wishes for one's eyes to be true. If you want to support the true tenet and uphold the eye of the tenet, then you must, from head to toe, penetrate bone and penetrate marrow without becoming entangled in anything whatsoever. Be liberated far and alone. Afterwards, [you] will clearly inherit (*xiangcheng* 相承) [the tenet] and will be able to raise this great dharma banner and burn this great dharma torch. Succeed Mazu, Baizhang, Shoushan, and Yangqi and do not become a usurper.

[Yuanwu's Postscript]

The chief seat (*shouzuo* 首座) Zonggao made pilgrimages to abbots of great monasteries (*congxi* 叢席) his whole life and has widely visited great men of the Way for ten years. He is dignified and energetic and cannot be controlled. At Jingzhou 荊州 he met the gentleman Wujin 無盡 [i.e. Zhang Shangying] and a meeting of minds [had occurred]. The gentleman truly valued his talent and constantly urged him, "you must go see Fo[guo]." At his bidding, [Zong]gao during the Xuanhua era (1119-1125) went to Tianning. He then one day first entered the hall and once that was done he arrived at [my] room. The words [the he] expressed were indeed extraordinary. From Guan Wudang 關無黨 (d.u.) the word later reached [me] and I thereupon knew how Tanhui 曇晦

[180] Here, the fellow student is most likely referring to a relatively obscure disciple of Linji by the name of Weifu Dajue 魏府大覺 (d.u.). This story of Xinghua's shout, albeit in what appears to be a less developed form, is found in Weifu's entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, which also happens to immediately follow the above story about Sansheng; see T51.2076.295a15-18.

[i.e., Dahui] spent the summer.[181] At strong request [I] ascended the seat and raised [the case]: "What is the place from whence all the buddhas come?" "A warm breeze comes from the South and a subtle chill stirs up on the tower." [He] caught a great glimpse of it. From that point on [I] ordered him to [come] to the abbot's quarters and train from dawn to dusk with old master Baiyun's old demonstration of "phrase of being" (*youju* 有句).[182] He exhausted his skills and unfolded it in a hundred different ways, but in the end it was not enough (*lixia* 例下). [He] thought the movement of the mind had almost changed. From the very beginning there was no true ground, so I earnestly told him, "a long time ago Fojian and I had given rise to such slander. Cutting off our thoughts and venturing into the profound, not many [things] could dare compete with [the state that we had attained]. Later, unexpectedly [I] had a sudden realization and completely stripped myself of mechanisms and tallies (*jichou* 機籌). [My] knowledge and views were dark and wondrous."

Based on this, he [i.e., Zonggao] said, "truly a good investigation of Chan." Then I excitedly moved on [to other cases]. Starting from the very beginning [I] applied a needle to each one and only then did [Zonggao] have an overwhelming, great penetration. I did not delight in accepting disciples and only delight in having a penetrating vision of this treasury of the eye of the true dharma and thus giving rise to the true tenet of Linji. [I] thereupon directed the congregation to assemble, shared my seat [with Zonggao], and instructed disciples. For a long time occasionally disturbances occurred near the capital

[181]According to his chronological biography, Dahui attempted to meet Yuanwu at Tianning si in 1124, but failing to do so he stayed at the layman Guan Wudang's house instead; see Ishii 1979: 128. Little is known about Guan Wudang outside of a few references in the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, but he did compose a postscript for Yuanwu's *Blue Cliff Record* dated 1125; see T48.2003.224b7-17.

[182] Baiyun is probably referring to Baiyun Shouduan 白雲守端 (1025-1072), a disciple of Yangqi Fanghui.

and together we planned to escape Bian 汴 [i.e., Kaifeng].[183] [I] imparted [to Zonggao] what I wrote here and bid him farewell. Years passed. From Huqiu 虎丘 in Pingjiang 平江 we deliberately headed up to Oufu 歐阜 and regrouped once again.[184] The next day [Zonggao] arrived at the mountain and entered the chief seat's quarters. Several hundred patch-robed monks gathered at the mountain. It was [truly] moving. Repeatedly [Zonggao] shouted out the lion's roar.[185] [When disciples entered] the room, [Zonggao] demonstrated the great mallet (*daqianjian* 大鉗鍵) [as un-escapable as] the adamantine cage (*jinjuan* 金圈) and [as prickly as] the chestnut shell (*lifeng* 栗蓬). As for those of true who have trained with [Zonggao] long, there were none who did not admire [him]. Furthermore, [his] virtuous nature is even more peaceful and firm. [He] promoted a style [of Chan] that was devoid of confrontations. So peaceful and compliant [was his style] that no comparisons were made [to determine] winner and loser. [He] only desired to hide in the deep mountain valleys and emulate the ancients who burnt [hay and weeds], sowed seeds, harvested [the crops], and ploughed [the fields]. Gathering fellow brothers with whom [he] labored, suffered, ate, and gossiped beside his hoe, [Zonggao] chomped on wood and drank from the mountain stream. [Wearing] grass for clothing and [living] in a thatched-roof hut, [Zonggao] avoided the world and made the compassionate vow to wait for it to become clean and peaceful [again].[186] [He has gone] where

[183] The eastern capital Kaifeng was also known as Bianliang 汴梁. Here, by Bian Yuanwu is most likely referring to Tianning si.

[184] Oufu refers to Mt. Yunju 雲居 in Jiangxi where Dahui headed in the tenth month of 1128 from Mt. Huqiu in Dahui's home province of Anhui to reunite with Yuanwu; see Ishii 1979: 133-134. Upon his arrival Yuanwu was elevated from scribe (*jishi* 記室)—his original appointment at Tianning si—to the exalted status of chief seat (*shouzuo*). Hongzhi Zhengjue is known to have visited Yuanwu during the summer retreat at Zhenru chanyuan 真如禪院 on Mt. Yunju. Hongzhi had left before Dahui's arrival; see Ishii 1982: 140.

[185] The freedom of someone who has attained awakening is often likened to a freely roaming lion; see Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 190. The lion's roar is also a metaphor for the master's shout (see above).

true *dazhangfu* 大丈夫 and generous, noble, and determined people walk. So again for this reason I have [composed this] detailed letter and recorded it in this postscript.

Seventeenth Day of the Fourth Month of the Third Year of Jianyan 建炎 (1129), Chan Master Yuanwu residing at Mt. Yunju[187]

According to the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, Yuanwu entrusted Dahui with the *Linji zhengzong ji* as soon as Dahui penetrated the koan, "the phrase 'being' and the phrase 'nonbeing' are like wisterias that grow on trees," and successfully answered the battery of koans that he subsequently threw at Dahui to test his awakening.[188] Upon receiving the *Linji zhengzong ji*, Dahui was assigned to the scribe's office (*changjishi* 掌記室) and he thus came to enjoy the privilege of sharing teaching duties with his teacher Yuanwu. Since there is no record of Dahui ever receiving any other proof of transmission from Yuanwu we may safely assume that the *Linji zhengzong ji* was Dahui's transmission or succession certificate (C. *sishu*, J. *shisho* 嗣書).

If Yuanwu can be credited with the composition of the *Linji zhengzong ji*, then it seems to be the case that Yuanwu, before Dahui had ever decried the growing influence of "ocean calabash chan," had been troubled by the same textual practices that had had swept through the Chan community of the early Song. We must be cautious in advancing this claim, however, since it is difficult to verify when the *Linji zhengzong ji* was actually composed and it is even more difficult to determine with any certainty that Yuanwu is truly its author. We do, however, have a date for the postscript, which was apparently written four years after the event (i.e., the entrusting of the *Linji zhengzong ji*) to which it refers had transpired. The earliest text to refer to the latter half of the *Linji zhengzong ji* as

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186 This is most likely referring to Dahui's retreat to the hermitage Yunmen an.

187 The *Linji zhengzong ji* was fortunately included in an anthology of Chan writings entitled *Chanmen zhu zushi jiesong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (Gāthas and Verses of the Various Patriarchs of Chan); ZZ116.941b16-943a14. The *Chanmen zhu zushi jiesong* was edited together by Zisheng 子昇 (d.u.) and Ruyou 如祐 (d.u.) during the Song. The original date of its publication is unknown but it was republished in 1654 and it is this edition that was included in the *Zokuzōkyō*.

188 See Ishii 1979: 129-130.

Yuanwu's "postscript" (*ba* 跋) is the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, which reproduces this postscript in its entirety. There, the postscript is said to be have been placed "at the end of the dharma sermon for the master [i.e., Dahui]" (*shi shi fayu hou* 示師法語後). Presumably, the dharma sermon here refers to the *Linji zhengzong ji.* We can also find a copy of the *Linji zhengzong ji* included (without the postscript) as a letter addressed to "scribe [Zong]gao" (*shi* Gao shuji 示杲書記) in the *Recorded Sayings of Yuanwu* compiled by Yuanwu's disciple Ziwen shortly before his master's death (1134).[189] According to the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, Yuanwu had sent another letter to Dahui in 1129 and it could be possible that the postscript (with or without the *Linji zhengzong ji*) was sent to Dahui along with this letter.[190]

In short, regardless of who actually composed the *Linji zhengzong*, it seems to be the case that Dahui had received either a written *lun* (treatise) or an oral *fayu* (dharma sermon) that purports to convey "the true tenet of Linji" from Yuanwu in 1125. More important, perhaps, is the postscript to this text that he received four years later in 1129. For, what this postscript provides is the place, date, and name of the recipient and when attached to the *Linji zongzhi* and transmitted to Dahui it served as irrefutable proof (*zheng*) of Yuanwu's sanction. Is this not, by the way, exactly how Huineng defined the act of transmission and sanctioning of this transmission in the *Platform Sūtra*? While it would certainly be far-fetched to argue that a direct connection can thus be established between

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[189] Yuanwu passed away on the eighth month of the eighth day of 1135. Dahui learned of his death on the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the next year 1136: see Ishii 1980: 99-100. For the letter, see T47.1997.783a14-c21. The letter was also included in the *Yuanwu xinyao*; see ZZ120.707a15-b18. Oddly, although the letter is addressed to Zonggao the scribe (indicating its composition in 1125), next to this name in the *Yuanwu xinyao* copy of this letter we also find "who dwells on Mt. Jing in Hangzhou" 住杭州徑山. This would make the composition of this letter no earlier than 1137 when Dahui was appointed to Mt. Jing under imperial decree. At a later date, I hope to consult the Gozan editions of the *Yuanwu xinyao* to verify this "error." For an alternative English translation of this letter; see Cleary and Cleary 1994: 9-11.

[190] See Ishii 1979: 135-136. The *Chronological Biography of Dahui cites the letter* in its entirety. The letter, like the *Linji zhengzong ji*, is also preserved in the *Chanmen zhu zushi jiesong*; ZZ116.943a15-944a7. Although conjecture at best, that the letter appears immediately after the *Linji zhengzong ji* in the *Chanmen zhu zushi jiesong* seems to suggest a connection between the two texts.

the *Platform Sūtra* and Dahui's *Linji zongji*, there seems to be no denying that on more than one occasion proof of sanction took the form of a text, a text that clearly marked the place, date, and name of the person to be sanctioned.

More evidence for this reading of the *Linji zongji* can be found in a lengthy letter prepared by Dahui's disciple Yunwo Xiaoying to correct the inaccuracies and discrepancies in the records of his teacher compiled by his other disciples. According to Yunwo, a glaring mistake had been made in the entry for 1154 in the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*.[191] There, it had apparently been recorded that "in the *jiaxu* 甲戌 year of the Shaoxing era (1154) [the master] took the *Linji zongzhi fayu* and entrusted it to chief seat Fahong 法宏 (d.u.) and attendant Daoxian 道先 (d.u.)."[192] But Yuanwo reminds his dharma brother Dunan Wuyan, the recipient of the letter, that by that time Fahong had already met his end in Meiyang 梅陽 and Daoxian had also passed away in the attendants' quarters at Mt. Jing.[193] Naturally, Yunwo asks, "since [Fa]hong and [Dao]xian are already dead to whom was the [*Linji*] *zhengzong fayu* entrusted?"[194] While reediting the earlier version of the chronological biography compiled by Zuying, Huazang Zongyuan seems to have taken Yunwo's comments seriously. In the entry for 1154 (Age Sixty-Six), we simply find the following ambiguous note: "[the master] titled the *Linji zhengzong fayu*."[195]

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[191] The following summary is based on ZZ148.46a14-b4.

[192] 紹興甲戌、在梅州、以臨濟正宗法語付法宏首座道先侍者 (ZZ148.46a14-15).

[193] Meiyang is located in Guangdong province. Dahui moved there in 1151 and stayed there till 1156. According to the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*, which in turn cites the *Yunwo jitan*, Fahong had been recording the words of his master in 1153; see Ishii 1980: 116 (cf. ZZ148.24a). If Yunwo is right, then Fahong must have died sometime in 1153 and 1154. Dahui resided on Mt. Jing from 1137 to 1140 and Daoxian must have passed away sometime during that period.

[194] ZZ148.46a16-17.

[195] 題臨濟正宗法語 (Ishii 1980: 116-117). Yunwo goes on to criticize those who made up this gossip about transmission and wonders what excuse the heirs of Fahong and Daoxian will have since they have clearly not received the *Linji zhengzong fayu*; see ZZ148.46a17-18. He also adds that Yunwu had later sent Dahui his robes and begging bowls. Upon receiving these items Dahui is said to have composed a verse wherein he implies that he will (or can) not entrust anything to his spiritual descendants; see ZZ148.46a18-b3. Considering this fact, why, Yunwo asks, would he have entrusted the *Linji zhengzong fayu* to Fahong and Daoxian? It goes without saying that Yunwo's

All in all, to "*zheng*" the true tenet of Linji therefore seems to have largely carried two radically different connotations: on the one hand, to *zheng* the true tenet was to know the tenet for oneself (*zizhi*) like a person who drinks water and knows whether it is cold or warm for oneself. In other words, to *zheng* the tenet was to *zheng* something outside of words and letters.[196] On the other hand, to *zheng* the true tenet was to sanction, prove, and bear witness to the event of transmission and this, as we have seen, was done with words and letters. In effect, someone who wished to *zheng* the true tenet of Linji had to face the predicament of having to straddle the uncomfortable boundary between the finger and the moon if you will. This predicament, I would argue, was the driving force behind Dahui's passionate plea for a proper understanding of *zheng*. I would even argue that this predicament is what Dahui hoped to overcome by burning his teacher's *Blue Cliff Record*.

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repeated plea to question the authenticity of Fahong and Daoxian's transmission appears to belie its own message.

[196] It also seems worth noting here that there is, at least, one certificate of transmission that was actually called a *fazheng* 法證 or "proof of the dharma." This certificate was granted by the Tiantai the Japanese pilgrim Shunjō 俊芿 (1166-1227) to his disciple . Shunjō had made the prilgrimage to China in 1199 and returned to Japan in 1211. According to his biography *Fukaki hōshi den* 不可棄法師傳, Shunjō had arrived on Mt. Tiantai on the fourth month of 1203 and had spent the summer there. During his study on Mt. Tiantai, he learned of Beifeng Zongyin 北峰宗印 (1148-1213), who was in residence at Chaoguo jiaoyuan 超果教院 in Huating 華亭 (in Jiaxing county, present-day Zhejiang province), and decided to give the Tiantai master a visit. According to the certificate that he received from Beifeng, the tenet of wondrous awakening (*miaowu zongzhi* 妙悟宗旨) was transmitted to Shunjō in 1210 at Chaoguo jiaoyuan; see Ishida 1972: 399-400. The certificate tells us that the transmission actually consisted of a transferal of two texts, the *fazheng* and the *Weixin jingtu shuo* 唯心淨土說 (Exposition on Pure Land in Mind Only); for the latter, see Ishida 400. At the end of the certificate, Shunjō states that this *fazheng* is offered as proof that Beifeng's *fayu* (presumably referring to the the *Beifeng sanqin beijian* 北峰三千備撿), which he has recopied, has been indeed entrusted to him by Beifeng. This note is dated 1227, the year of his death. That same year, a month before his death, Shunjō is also known to have written a "letter entrusting the dharma" (*fuhōjō* 付法状) to his chief seat Shinkai 心海 (d.u.). This letter, currently housed at Shunjō's Sennyūji 泉涌寺, has been classified as a national treasure; for the letter, see plate 6 in Ishida 1972 and Ogisu 1972: 175. Unfortunately, although Shunjō is known to have studied under Dahui's disciple Zhuoan and Huian Miguang's disciple Mengan Yuancong 蒙菴元聡 (d.u.), there is no record of him ever receiving a certificate from these teachers; see Ishida 1972: 413 and Ogisu 1972: 172. I thank T. Griffith Foulk for alerting me to Shunjō and his work.

Although some have come to question the veracity of this story, I would insist that there is a kernel of historical truth behind it. In one of his general sermons, Dahui recounts an intriguing story about his teacher Yuanwu.[197] As he recalls, Yuanwu had left his hometown of Sichuan and studied under Zhenru Muzhe 真如慕喆 (d. 1095). While studying under Zhenru, Yuanwu befriended the library prefect Qing 慶藏主 (d.u.), a former student of Chengtian Chuanzong 承天傳宗 (d.u.) who, in turn, was a dharma hear of Xuedou. With the help of Qing, Yuanwu is said to have fully grasped the principle (*lihui* 理會) of the *Xuedou songgu* for which he saved no words of praise. On account of this fact, later "many people said, 'Venerable Foguo [i.e., Yuanwu] was just intelligent and remembered the far-fetched explanations that he [i.e., library prefect Qing] made on a whim."[198] "How," Dahui concurs, "could [library prefect Qing] recklessly preach like this *without inheriting a master's tenet*?"[199] Yuanwu's old friend, Fojian Huiqin, is also said to have written a letter of criticism to him that said: "fortunately old brother [you now] have a book (*zhu* 著) that directly points [to the mind of a person, but you] should not expound on Xuedou for other people."[200]

Following an earlier suggestion made by Yanagida, Hirota has attempted to demonstrate that the text that Dahui either burned or destroyed was not Yuanwu's *Blue Cliff Record* but its root text, the *Xuedou songgu*.[201] Based on information gathered from a

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[197] The following is based on Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 209b (cited in Hirota 2004a: 112).

[198] 佛果和尚只是聰明記持由他肆意穿鑿 (Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 209b).

[199] 無師承宗旨如何只是恁麼胡亂說得 (Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 209b). Emphasis mine.

[200] 老兄幸自有直指底一著不當說雪竇為人 (Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 209b). Fojian's letter is preserved in the *Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓 (Lessons for Beginners); T48.2023.1085c17-1086a10 (noted in Hirota 2004a: 112). The line above cited by Dahui is not found in the letter preserved in the *Zimen jingxun*. As Hirota notes, the first person to seek answers to the question of whether or not Dahui burned the *Blue Cliff Record* in Fojian's letter was Ogisu Jundō (1963).

[201] I cannot do justice to Hirota's (2004a) argument here in the limited space of a footnote, but suffice it to say that his argument is largely based on the fact that Dahui himself never mentions the name of the *Blue Cliff Record* in any of his work. He does, however, mention the *Xuedou songgu* in the context of speaking of the tendency among students of Chan to become overly dependent on

letter that Xinwen Tanfen 心聞曇賁 (d.u.) had sent to Zhang Jiucheng, Hirota was also able to determine the date on which this event was supposed to have occurred. Not surprisingly, it was 1134 when Dahui prepared his *Bianxie zhengshuo*.[202] Did this iconoclastic event really occur? Perhaps, but what interests me more is the simple fact that Dahui was remembered as destroying *a book*. What I am suggesting here is that Dahui had destroyed this book because it had the potential for being mistaken for a master's tenet and his *zheng*, and this was simply unacceptable. For, it was nothing short of a heresy.

Before we turn, as promised, to the literary frame of Dahui's experience next, I suggest we take a very brief look at a controversial work attributed to Dōgen. According to the *Hōkyōki* 寶慶記 (Record of the Baoqing Era),

> [Dogen] said: 'Good teachers, old and new, say, "As a fish that drinks water knows whether it is cold or warm, so a man who has self-knowledge [*jichi* 自知] achieves awakening. This [self-knowledge] is the realization of the enlightened mind."' Criticizing this [argument], Dogen asked: 'If this self-knowledge is the authentic awakening, do all sentient beings have self-knowledge, and if so, can they be considered to be the authentically awakened *tathāgatas*? Some say, "Yes, all sentient beings, from the beginningless beginning, are the *tathāgatas*." Why is this so? If only those who know that they are inherently awakened are the *tathāgatas*, then those who do not think they are inherently awakened would not be *tathāgatas*. Can such a theory be of the Buddha Dharma or not?'
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> Ju-ching replied: 'Saying that sentient beings are originally buddhas is the same as believing the heterodoxy of spontaneous origination [*jinen gedō* 自然外道]. We cannot condone those who compare "I" and "mine" with the

the words of Xuedou. He also takes note of the fact that the title of the so-called "one-night copy" of the *Blue Cliff Record* copied by Dōgen contains the term "praise" (or lit. "applaud by keeping time"; *jijie* 擊節), which was used by Dahui in his general sermon (see above) to speak of the *Xuedou songgu*. For a photo reproduction of the "one-night copy" housed at Daijōji 大乘寺, see Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei kankōkai 1972-1981, bekkan: 801-909.

202 Hirota 2004a: 119-122.

buddhas and who take the unattained as the attained and the unexperienced as the experienced.'[203]

As Dōgen also states in yet another controversial essay entitled *shisho* or "certificate of succession":

> When the Way of the Buddha is thus of necessity transmitted, there must be a document of succession. If there is no document of succession, it would be the heresy of spontaneous [enlightenment]. Without determining to whom the Way of the Buddha is to be transmitted, how could it have reached this day? For this reason, in order to become a buddha, there must be a document of succession that is to be granted from a buddha to a buddha and to be received by a buddha from a buddha.[204]

Dōgen calls this document a *zhengqi* (J. *shōkai* 證契) or "*zheng*-tally." Dōgen himself had received such a tally from his teacher Rujing and, as one might expect, it bears the place (Mt. Tiantong), date (1227), and name of the recipient (Dōgen).[205] The *Fozu mingmo zhengqi* 佛祖命脈證契 (The Tally that Bears Witness to the Life-Line of the Buddhas and Patriarch), as it calls itself, also bears the signature and seal of Rujing, its maker or, shall I say, transmitter.

These works are deemed controversial because they are believed to have been composed in an ideological climate wherein Dōgen and his successors felt a strong need to distinguish themselves from a host of different adversaries and competing lineages who

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[203] Trans. Kodera 1980: 119. For photo reproduction of the Hōkyōki purportedly written in Ejō's handwriting, see Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei kankōkai 1972-1981, bekkan: 706-722. On the dating of the Hōkyōki, see also Heine 2006: 36-38.

[204] Trans. Kodera 1980: 46. For an extremely useful overview of the various extant copies of the *shisho* essay, see Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei kankōkai 1972-1981, vol. 3: 528-550. A photo reproduction can be found in Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei kankōkai 1972-1981, bekkan: 35-130.

[205] For a photo reproduction of Dōgen's own *shisho*, see Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei kankōkai 1972-1981, bekkan: 5-6. See also Kodera 1980: 70 (figure 2).

can be loosely grouped together under the rubric of the lineage of Linji.[206] This includes the aforementioned Darumashū, Eisai, and arguably Dōgen's greatest rival Enni Ben'en. Although their authenticity and historical accuracy may be doubted, we should not therefore reject their content outright, for they clearly reflect issues that transcend the confines of Dōgen and his contemporaries. If these works attributed to Dōgen tell us anything, what they do offer us is further proof (*zheng*) that *zheng*, *zizhi*, and the medium of the book was a recurrent problem in Chan and Zen. In their own unique way these problems thus served as a thread of continuity that was often taken for granted. Constantly threatening to undo this thread, however, was an illness (or two) that seems to have found a new outlet for expressing itself in Dahui. And it is to this outlet that we turn next.

Let Illness be the Thread or the Knife that Cuts It

Considering how quickly things can get out of hand when speaking of something as complex as autobiography, let me state at the outset what I do *not* intend to do here in these concluding remarks on the form of Dahui's awakening. First, although I will inevitably come across the issue of how to define a Chan autobiography, the aim of the following is not to define literary genres and to determine whether or not it is appropriate to classify Dahui's experience in one way or another. Second, I do not wish to make any strong claims about the nature, aesthetic value, or history of autobiographical writing in

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[206] This has been wonderfully demonstrated in Bielefeldt 1985. Dōgen began compiling essays that emphasized the sanction he received from Rujing after he acquired the Darumashū disciple Ekan 懷鑑 (d. 1251?) and his disciples Gikai 義介 (1219-1309), Giin 義尹 (1217-1300), Gien 義演 (d.1314), and Gijun 義準 (d.u.) in 1241. Ekan was the disciple of the Darumashū teacher Butchi Kakuan 佛地覺晏 (d.u.).

Since there is, as we have seen, a record of Dahui's awakening and Yuanwu's conferral of the *Linji zhengzong ji* as proof of this awakening, Ishii Shūdō notes that Dōgen's harsh criticisms of Dahui's "self awakening and self verification" (*jishō jigo* 自證自悟) in his polemical essays *Sesshin sesshō* 說心說性 (Speaking of Mind, Speaking of Nature) compiled in 1243, *Jishō zanmai* 自證三昧 (Samādhi of Self Verification) compiled in 1244, and *Jinshin inga* 深信因果 (Deeply Believing in Cause and Effect) compiled in 1245 are unfounded and historically inaccurate; see Ishii 1991: 320. Dōgen even likens Dahui to espousing the heresy of naturalism (*jinen gedō*). See also Bielefeldt 1985: 37, 52 n. 17.

traditional China and Japan. For the former we already have Pei-yi Wu's invaluable work on this subject and for the latter we have scores of essays and monographs on the diaries (*nikki* 日記) produced during the Heian and Kamakura periods in Japan.[207] Lastly, it is not my intention to make any sweeping claims about the relation between Buddhism and autobiographical writing.[208]

I hope to carry out a far simpler task. Here, I simply wish to attempt to address the following question: why did the abstract theoretical ideas of dying the great death, resting in silent illumination, and succumbing to the malady of meditation come to be expressed in autobiographical form? Like most conspicuous shifts in history, a number of different factors were probably responsible for the sudden appearance of reflections on the malady of meditation in autobiographical form, but here I shall focus on just a few and leave the rest (whatever they may be) for others to unravel. My brief excursus on the topic of Chan autobiography and the malady of meditation, as we shall see, will underscore the importance of Dahui in studying this topic and reach what will now seem to be the predictable conclusion that the rise of these autobiographies may have something do with the problem of what it means to *zheng* and thus know the Way for oneself. To see what sort of mark Dahui left on the practice of narrating one's battle with the malady of meditation we must now turn to the autobiographies themselves, but first a few general remarks on the practice of narrating one's life in China need to be made.

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[207] For instance, see Marilyn J. Miller, *The Poetics of Nikki Bungaku: A Comparison of the Traditions, Conventions, and Structure of Heian Japan's Literary Diaries with Western Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985); Sonja Arntzen, *The Kagerō Diary: A Women's Autobiographical Text from Tenth-Century Japan*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997); John R. Wallace, *Objects of Discourse: Memoirs by Women of Heian Japan*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2005). See also Sallie B. King, *Passionate Journey: The Spiritual Autobiography of Satomi Myodo* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1987).

[208] A wonderful study of autobiographical writing in Tibetan Buddhism can be found in Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Although speculative at best, it seems to be the case that a shift (or perhaps even a conflation) in the style of thinking about veracity had occurred in Dahui's "spiritual autobiography." As Pei-yi Wu notes, conventions of historiography in traditional China heavily constrained the biographical imagination to the point that "[e]ven when the biographer wrote about subjects he knew personally, the canon of objectivity demanded that he shun his own observation and rely on archival materials or reports made by others."[209] A general division of labor, Wu also rightly contends, continued to influence the way men and women spoke and thought of themselves in traditional China. This division is that between *shi* 史 (history) and *wen* 文 (belles lettres).[210] Wu cites a distinguished authority—the great Qing historiographer Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠— to establish his case: "When the man of letters writes, he strives for originality, while the historian's greatest concern is to avoid having himself as the authority for anything he writes. The two proceed from entirely different principles. The proper thing for the historian to do is to recount, not to originate. If he himself is the authority for any statement, then that statement is without evidence. A statement without evidence will not be credible to posterity."[211] A convenient demonstration of Zhang's point, Wu maintains, can be made by taking the example of Xuanzang, whose life was fortuitously documented in two different genres of writing, an official biography compiled by his disciples and his own renowned travel account entitled the *Da Tang xiyou ji* 大唐西遊記 (Great Tang Record of the Journey to the West). Although both sources testify to the constraints of traditional historiography, Xuanzang's own account, as Wu notes, is clearly more reticent with regards to his experiences in India and beyond. According to Wu, the disciples were

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[209] Wu 1990: 5.

[210] Wu 1990: 6.

[211] Wu 1990: 6. For Chang's life and work, see David Nivison, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsueh-cheng 1738-1801* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).

able enjoy "greater freedom in reporting his activities in distant places than he did because everything they wrote had a putative source—the teacher—other than themselves."[212]

Wu mentions another curious aspect of the historical narrative in China that is relevant to our discussion of illness and the need to know the Way for oneself. Like proverbs, historical narratives in China seem to be concerned less with concrete details ("nobody wants to known what kind of stone it is that gathers no moss") than with "the demonstration of general truth."[213] Wu even suggests that the medium through which such narratives were conveyed may have had something to do with this lack of interest in unwarranted details: "[t]he reticence and impersonality of Chinese historical discourse are fully in accord with the terseness, selectivity, and uniformity of classical Chinese. Narrative economy unites the two."[214] These general characteristics of the historical narrative are, needless to say, anathema to the development of autobiography. But this, of course, is true only if we define autobiography rather narrowly as a narration of the self by the self about the sundry, idiosyncratic details of his or her life that would otherwise be of little or no concern to anyone else. If we abide by an even narrower definition and restrict narration here to writing, then this would rule out Dahui's account of his experience as an autobiography as neither his sermon nor his chronological biography was written by Dahui himself. This might be one reason why Wu claims that Dahui did not compose an autobiography.[215] However, if we are to include oral narration in this definition of the autobiography, then Dahui could be considered to have authored what appears to be one of the earliest specimens of Buddhist autobiographies in China as it appears to be the case that he relayed a relatively large amount of data about his own personal experience, which presumably transpired within a very short time period. To my knowledge, there are only

[212] Wu 1990: 8.

[213] Wu 1990: 12.

[214] Wu 1990: 13. For an insightful discussion of the challenges presented by the literary medium to scientific or individualistic thinking, see Bodde 1991: 16-96.

[215] See Wu 1990: 158 n. 28.

two other potentially earlier examples of autobiographical narratives in Buddhism, namely Lost Name's *Baoren ming*, which Wu again fails to mention, and Huineng's self-narration of his life in the *Platform Sūtra.*

According to Wu's classification of genres, Lost Name's *Baoren ming* is perhaps best classified as an autonecrology. Restrained self-praise presented in the guise of a mental preparation for "death" is, as Wu notes, an unavoidable characteristic of this genre.[216] The *Baoren ming* also lacks the kind of attention to detail that would qualify it as an autobiography under Wu's definition. This would, then, give Huineng the honor of having authored the first "spiritual autobiography" in Chan by which Wu seems to mean a self-written "conversion narrative." In speaking of this genre, Wu takes his cue from an idea articulated earlier by Jean Starobinski: "one would hardly have sufficient motive to write an autobiography had not some radical change occurred in his life—conversion, entry into a new life, the operation of Grace."[217] Wu does not, however, offer Huineng the title of the first Chan autobiographer. He reserves this honor to the Chan master Zuqin 祖欽 (1216-1287). His reason for doing so is quite simple: Huineng's account of his own conversion is too terse to qualify as a full-blown spiritual autobiography.[218] Wu suspects that this terseness may have something to do with Huineng's commitment to subitism, but this commitment, as Chan historians have known for years, is a rhetoric that has often served the larger agenda of producing one of the most prolific literary traditions in the world, namely Chan.

Although Wu names Zuqin as the first Chan autobiographer, as Miriam Levering points out, "it would be a mistake to think that no autobiographical impulse is reflected in sermons of Buddhist masters before Zuqin."[219] Levering insists that this "impulse" is clearly discernable in the narrations of his "interior subjectivity" that Dahui

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[216] Wu 1990: 28.

[217] Starobinski 1980: 78 (cited in Wu 1990: 71).

[218] Wu 1990: 73.

[219] Levering 2002: 99 (with minor changes).

revealed over a considerable period of time.[220] Even if we were to agree with Wu and name Zuqin as the first Chan autobiographer, as we shall see, it is, as Levering claims, hard to deny Dahui's influence on the development of this genre in Chan. Let us, for instance, take a closer look at Zuqin's autobiography:

> I the joined Master Tiejue Yuan 鐵橛遠 of Shuanglin 雙林 in his assembly of sitting-in-meditation. From morning to night I stayed in the saṃgha hall and never went outside. Even when I was walking in the dormitory or to the washroom I held my hands in my sleeves and crossed them in front of my chest. Walking ever so slowly, I never looked left or right, nor did I see anything more than three feet in front of me. Venerable worthies of [Cao]dong usually taught a disciple to observe the story, "a dog does not have buddha nature." When random thoughts and extraneous ideas occurred the disciple was supposed to raise the character "no (*wu*)" and balance it, ever so gingerly, on the tip of his nose. As soon as the random ideas disappeared, he would discard the character (*fangxiazhe* 放下著). In this fashion he silently sat (*momo er zuo* 默默而坐), waiting for purification and maturation. After a long time perfect understanding would occur of its own accord (*ziqi* 自契). The [Cao]dong method was so elaborate and perplexing that a disciple could easily spend ten or twenty years without getting anywhere. This was the reason that it was difficult to find heirs to continue it.[221]

Zuqin then goes on to tell the reader that he had become so skilled at sitting in meditation that he did not even hear the bell ring for the afternoon feast. Upon learning of Zuqin's skills the elder (*changlao* 長老) praised him highly. For reasons that he does not share with his reader, Zuqin then simply mentions that he had come to hang his staff at Lingyin si 靈

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[220] Levering 2002: 99.

[221] ZZ122.512b9-16; trans. Wu 1990: 77 (with some minor changes). This and other translations from Zuqin's autobiographical narrative is from his recorded sayings, *Xueyan Zuqin chanshi yulu* 雪巖祖欽禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Xueyan Zuqin). The entire narrative can also be found in the *Changuan cejin*; see T48.2024.1100a22-1100c10. For an English translation of the *Changuan cejin* version, see Cleary 1992: 45-49.

隱寺, a grand monastery located not far from the capital Kaifeng. There he seems to have benefited little from the guidance of the abbots Miaofeng Zhishan 妙峰之善 (1152-1235),[222] who died shortly after Zuqin's arrival, and his successor Shitian Faxun 石田法薰 (1171-1245).[223] But not all was lost. While he was waiting in the guest prefect quarters (*zhikeliao* 知客寮) with all the other monks on pilgrimage he had this momentous encounter:

> I met a scribe from Chuzhou. He said to me: "Brother Qin, your endeavor is like *dead water* (*sishui* 死水); it won't do you any good. *You have broken the two aspects of activity and quietude* (*dongjing erxiang* 動靜二相) *into two separate things*." What he said about me was quite true. When I sad down, I felt I was in an unusual state (*zhe jingjie xianqian* 這境界現前), but it would disappear when I started to walk, picked up a spoon, or put down chopsticks. He said further: "To engage in the investigation of Chan one must have doubts. Great doubts lead to great enlightenments; small doubts lead to small enlightenments: there is no enlightenment without doubt. Doubt is necessary; only then can one attain the public cases (*gongan* 公案)."[224]

Zuqin then remarks that, although the scribe had not yet undergone training (*zuogongfu* 做工夫) himself, his words were orderly and right (*duanzheng* 端正) because he had come from the assembly of the great Chan master Songyuan Chongyue 松源崇嶽 (1132-1202). Without any hesitation, Zuqin followed his advice. Unfortunately, Zuqin tells us, "from morning to sunset, walking or sitting, [I suffered from either] torpor or excitation."[225] Hearing of the reputation of Tianmu Wenli 天目文禮 (1167-1250), a famed disciple of

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[222] Miaofeng was a dharma heir of Zhuoan Deguang, a dharma heir of Dahui who, we may recall, had sanctioned Dainichi Nōnin.

[223] Shitian was a dharma heir of Poan Zuxian 破菴祖先 (1136-1211).

[224] ZZ122.513a4-8; trans. Wu 1990: 78 (with some minor changes). Emphasis mine.

[225] ZZ122.513a12; cf. Wu 1990: 79.

Songyuan, Zuqin sought help from the Chan master, but what he got was disappointing at best:

> These stories from Master Tianmu were meant to raise me to go beyond (*xiangshang*), but *my illness lies in torpor and excitation*. The medicine that he dispensed did not work and I was not pleased. I couldn't help addressing him in my mind: "You know nothing about training. All you have is clever verbiage chan (*linglichan* 伶俐禪)." Usually a disciple, after having received his initial instruction from a master, presented one last round of incense and prostrated himself three times before the teacher. This is called "expressing gratitude for good fortune." I left without the obeisances.[226]

This, notwithstanding, Zuqin stayed at Jingci si 淨慈寺 where Tianmu served as abbot and continued in his quest for enlightenment. There, he came to admire the chief seat Xiu 修 and wished to consult him, but for reasons to be revealed shortly Xiu continued to ignore Zuqin for another two years. Zuqin then tells us that his meditation only led to more torpor and excitation and everything "turned into a lump of dank mud."[227] Zuqin was ready to go home. It was at this point in his career that he comes to experience a true breakthrough in his training as a student of Chan:

> One day as I was taking a stroll in the corridor I ran into Brother Xiu. From a distance he seemed to be completely at ease and even self-satisfied. I walked over to him and as he did not avoid me, I knew he had succeeded in some way. I asked him, "Why is it that when I tried to speak with you last year, you always avoided me?" He replied, "My respected brother, a man who genuinely works on the Way has not even the time to clip his fingernails, much less to chat with you." He asked about my efforts and I told him the story from the beginning. Then I said, "I am now beset by torpor and excitation, which I cannot handle." He said: "What difficulties are there? It is only because you are not driving yourself hard enough. You must sit on a high rush seat, straighten your spine,

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[226] ZZ122.513b2-6; trans. Wu 1990: 80 (with some minor changes). Emphasis mine.

[227] ZZ122.513b16-17; cf. Wu 1990: 81.

keep every disk taut, cover up every one of your 360 bones and eighty-four-thousand pores with the word 'nothingness' [*wu*]. Then see what torpor and excitation you have." Following his advice, I found a thick rush mat and put in on my station. I sat on it and straightened my spine, making every disk taut. From head to bottom I forcibly lifted up all the 360 links of my skeleton, as if fighting alone against ten thousand enemies. When I became completely exhausted I dropped everything. Then with all my strength I made another desperate attempt. All of a sudden I was no longer conscious of either my mind or my body, and I saw in front of my eyes nothing but a huge, sold substance, ***like a silver mountain or iron wall.*** This pure and clear state lasted for three days, whether I walked or sat. For three nights I did not close my eyes. In the afternoon of the third day I was walking under the gates, but I felt that I was still sitting. Suddenly I ran into Brother Xiu again. He asked me what I was doing there. I replied that I was working on the Way. "What is it that you call the Way?" he asked. As I was not able to answer, I became very perplexed. Intending to go back to the hall and resume sitting-in-meditation, I first went to the back gate. Without realizing what I was doing I arrived at the back hall. The chief seat there asked me, "Brother Qin, how is your work on the Way?" I replied, "I should not have asked so many people about it; now contrary to what I expected, I am stuck." He said, "You only have to open your eyes wide and see what the matter is." I was quite struck by the last sentence and hastened back to the meditation hall. As soon as I lifted my body up the rush seat all of a sudden everything burst open in front of me, as if the earth had collapsed. At that time I found myself unable to describe or even suggest what had happened to other, because I had no way to compare it with anything in this world. I did not know what to do with my joy (*huanxi* 歡喜) so I left the meditation mat and went to look for Brother Xiu. He was on the sutra table. As soon as he saw me he greeted me with folded palms and said: Congratulations! Congratulations!" Holding each other's hand we took a stroll on the will-shaded embankment in

front of the temple. I looked up and down, viewing all the myriad things of the universe. Suddenly I realized that it was actually from my subtle and bright true nature that all things flowed out, all the things that in the past had repelled my eyes and disgusted my ears, all the ignorance, troubles, perplexities, and confusion. What floated closely before my eyes now was a vast presence, absolutely silent and completely denuded of shape and form.[228]

As Wu hastens to point out, this passage is quite remarkable in that over six-hundred characters were spent to cover only three days of Zuqin's life—hardly a common practice in Chinese biographies. Although Wu thus credits Zuqin with writing nothing short of "a landmark in the history of Chinese narrative," it is also quite clear that Zuqin's experience was stylized to such an extent that the above account sounds almost like an extension, albeit one with much embellishment in narrative detail, of what Dahui spent years explaining in his letters and sermons.[229]

Curiously, Wu ends his examination of Zuqin's biography at the above passage, but Zuqin's account does not end there. For understanding Zuqin's experience the passage that immediately follows the one above is crucial:

> [However] for over half a month no form of activity (*dongxiang* 動相) took shape. What a pity! Unable to meet a venerable equipped with a great eye and great technique to beat me [through this barrier I] just sat in that there [in that state of denuded shape and form]. This is called "*not being liberated from the state of seeing*" (*jiandi butuo* 見地不脱) and it is an obstruction to true knowledge and seeing (*zhengzhijian* 正知見). Every time I fell asleep in the middle of the night there were neither dreams nor thoughts, hearing or seeing. Again, [the state of being asleep and awake] split in two. Ancients have a saying, "being asleep and awake are one." Again, I was unable to penetrate through. When the eyes weren't [shut] to sleep all the dreams vanished by themselves. The saying, "if the mind is not disturbed the ten thousand dharmas become one," is also a

[228] ZZ122.514a4-b14; trans. Wu 1990: 82-83 (with some minor changes). Emphasis mine.

[229] For example, see the italicized passages from Zuqin's autobiography above.

> completely erroneous understanding. Generally, the public cases of the ancients have a meaningful path (*yilu* 義路) into which you can sink your teeth. *But if you attain it by understanding its principle then there is no meaningful path. As if* [*surrounded by*] *silver mountains and iron walls, there is again no attainment.*[230]

Zuqin then tells his audience that he had searched for an answer to his problems under the guidance of Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249) in vain. Then he looked in the scriptures and ancient sayings, but again *"there was not a single phrase that could alleviate this illness of mine."*[231] This debilitating doubt is said to have remained in his breast for another ten years until one day while walking in front of the Buddha hall he saw a withered oak tree and had an awakening. From this moment on, he tells us, there were no longer any doubts.

In following Dahui's footsteps, Zuqin was not alone. It seems to be the case that Zuqin was simply part of a growing trend. As Pei-yi Wu himself points out, Chan master Mengshan Deyi 蒙山德異 (b.1231) had (purportedly) narrated a similar experience. According to his *shizhong* sermon narrated in the first person *mou* 某 and preserved—like Zuqin's autobiography—in Yunqi Zhuhong's 雲棲袾宏 (1535-1615) *Changuan cejin*,[232] Mengshan had received Zhaozhou's "no" (*wu*) from his teacher Wanshan Zhengning 皖山正凝 (d.u.) and had a major breakthrough while drinking tea.[233] When he subsequently sought confirmation of his awakening, however, he was repeatedly turned down and

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[230] ZZ122.514b14-515a3; emphasis mine.

[231] 亦並無一句可以解我此病 (ZZ122.515a7-8; emphasis mine). Cf. Fujiyoshi 1970: 67.

[232] Although Mengshan's biography is preserved in other biographical collections such as the *Zengji xu chuandeng lu* 增集續傳燈錄 of 1671 (ZZ142.832b09-833a18) and *Wudeng quanshu* 五燈全書 of 1697 (ZZ141.205a15-206a4), none of these collections contain his autobiography. In fact, the only source for Mengshan's autobiography, to my knowledge, is the *Changuan cejin*. While the lack of any evidence of its existence prior to the Ming does not rule out the possibility that Mengshan had indeed dictated or written an autobiography, the reproduction of both Zuqin and Mengshan's autobiography in the *Changuan cejin*, as we shall see in the next chapter, may reflect new developments of the understanding of koan study during the Ming.

[233] For the following see T48.2024.1099a29-c26 (cf. Fujiyoshi 1970: 50-60 and Cleary 1992: 38-43). See also Wu 1990: 87-89.

advised to investigate further. Two years had passed without any development and in 1164 Mengshan became ill with dysentery and felt as if he were on the verge of death. He then took this vow: "If my life is about to end [I] pray to receive the power of *prajñā*, be reborn with right mindfulness, and leave home at an early age. If I am cured of my illness, [I shall] immediately abandon my lay life and become a monk so that I may attain awakening and illumination swiftly and widely save future students."[234] He then resumed his investigation of Zhaozhou's "no." Before long he felt his intestines churning, but he simply ignored this physical discomfort and went on with his practice. Then, he noticed, "after a while, my eyelids did not move and later [I] didn't even notice that [I] had a body. Only the critical phrase [continued] uninterrupted. When evening arrived I arose [from meditation] and my illness was half gone. [I] sat again until quarter past the third watch and all the illnesses had completely disappeared."[235] But Mengshan's quest for enlightenment was far from over. As the autobiography continues to tell us, Mengshan's concentration on the critical phrase became so intense that he was able to continue his practice even when sores (*chuang* 瘡) appeared all over his body— a practice he called "meditative-work in the midst of illness" (*bingzhong gongfu* 病中工夫)—and he also found himself walking past a feast (*zhai* 齋) to which he intended to go without noticing it. This he called "meditative-work in the midst of activity" (*dongzhong gongfu* 動中工夫).[236] While devoting himself to this form of meditative-work, Mengshan eventually penetrates Zhaozhou's "no."

Sever hundred years later, across the ocean, the young Hakuin, as we may recall, had experienced something quite similar:

> When I was young the content of my koan meditation was poor. I was convinced that absolute tranquility of the source of the mind was the Buddha Way. Thus I despised activity and was fond of quietude. I would always seek

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[234] T48.2024.1099b17; see also Cleary 1992: 40 and Wu 1990: 87.

[235] T48.2024.1099b19-21; see also Cleary 1992: 40 and Wu 1990: 88.

[236] T48.2024.1099c8-9.

out some dark and gloomy place and engage in dead sitting. Trivial and mundane matters pressed against my chest and a fire mounted in my heart. I was unable to enter wholeheartedly into the active practice of Zen. My manner became irascible and fears assailed me. Both my mind and body felt continually weak, sweat poured ceaselessly from my armpits, and my eyes constantly filled with tears. My mind was in a continual state of depression and I made not the slightest advance toward gaining the benefits that result from the study of Buddhism.[237]

Bearing an uncanny resemblance to the course of action taken by Dahui after his illness, Hakuin had also come to lament the growing number of blind, bald heretics that taught people to practice dead sitting in a ghost cave underneath the black mountain. His polemically charged writings are replete with such references to the dangers of silent illumination, which he, like Dahui, seems to have convincingly demonstrated by succumbing to the malady of meditation himself. Lest there be any doubt about his motives and his intellectual integrity, Hakuin did not hesitate to mention Dahui's name when speaking of his malady of meditation and the dangers of silent illumination.

In these and other accounts of illness and meditation, the indelible mark that Dahui's experience left on the development of a new genre of writing in Chan can be discerned unequivocally. Why this trend began (if it indeed did) with Dahui is a difficult question to answer, but it is tempting to suggest, as I shall cautiously do now, that the autobiographical form in Chan was the outcome of the growing need to know the Way for oneself.[238] Admittedly, this does not explain why it took so long to link the form with

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[237] Yoshizawa 2001a: 194-195; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 31-32.

[238] I would also like to cautiously suggest that larger historical forces may have been at work here. Wm. Theodore de Bary has already shown that Neo-Confucians (broadly defined) have also been ruminating upon similar issues such as "getting it oneself" (*zide* 自得) or learning to get it oneself (*zide zhi xue* 自得之學). Bearing an uncanny similarity to Chan discourses about knowing the Way for oneself, Zhu Xi, for instance, claimed that the Way is to be had by silent recognition and penetration of the mind so as to "find it in oneself" (*de zhi yu ji* 得之於己); de Bary 1991: 45. Zhu was also clearly aware that such claims could lead one to engage in misguided practices such as quiet sitting (*jingzuo* 靜坐); see de Bary 1991: 85 (cf. Taylor 1990: 78-81). Cheng Yi 程頤

the content—what it meant to *zheng* something, as we have seen, had been an important issue for Buddhists for quite some time. On the other hand, no one seems to have been as keenly aware of the paradox of *zheng* than Dahui. Whatever the reasons may have been for its sudden appearance in his writings, once it was put to use the autobiographical form seems to have made possible what earlier forms of narration did not—it could provide proof (*zheng*) of one's ability to know the Way (*dao*) of the buddhas and patriarchs for oneself while adhering to received models of the path (*dao*). How was this feat accomplished? Ironically, this proof, as we have seen, came in the form of a *failure* to adhere to received models of the path. But why, we may ask, autobiography and why failure?

In raising these questions I do not claim to be entering new territory. Folklorists have been wrestling similar issues for quite some time. Ever since the eminent folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1934) first used "fabulate" and "memorate" to define legends—narrations, unlike tales, of a particular fact that purports to be true—folklorists have struggled to better articulate the relation between these two problematic categories.[239] Although von Sydow himself seems to have been inconsistent in his

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(1033-1107), often heralded as the fountainhead of *daoxue* or Neo-Confucian learning, also once wrote that "the most refined of principles should be sought and found in oneself" (*ziqiu dezhi* 自求得之); see de Bary 1991: 47. These ideas—emerging in concrete form in the Song—of seeking a knowledge of the Way not in ready-made interpretations but in the art of finding it out for oneself, as de Bary shows, continued to serve as a central issue, though frequently debated and interpreted in various ways, for Neo-Confucian intellectuals up to the seventeenth century.

We should also bear in mind that De Bary's observations on the emergence and spread of the need to get it oneself in Neo-Confucian discourse are meant to serve the larger agenda of investigating the increasing focus on the individual in China beginning in the Song. He carefully distinguishes between individualism and individuality, the latter being a word that could be glossed as the right to express one's creativity; de Bary 1991: 4-5. He also rightly observes that the growing interest in the individual did not spread outside a small circle of intellectuals and thus did not amount to any significant social-reforms. De Bary nevertheless employs the term individualism to describe this growing interest in intellectual and spiritual cultivation centered on the individual and this has often led to a blurring of distinction between individualism "as a descriptive label and as a self-conscious philosophy" (Bol 1993: 753). To date, the best study in English on the various responses to the growing interest in the self as both source and resource (for acquiring) values (for oneself) during the Song is Bol 1992. A telling example of this shift towards getting the Way for onself is provided in Bol 1992: 12-13.

definition of these terms the general consensus is that the memorate refers to accounts of purely personal experiences stripped of all sense of poetic or fictive embellishment and tradition whereas the fabulate is the outcome of this embellishment under the strict guidelines of folk tradition. Developing a cogent point first made by Lauri Honko ("tradition is already present in the experience"),[240] however, the folklorist Linda Dégh has more recently shown that the rigid distinction between memorate and fabulate established by von Sydow is no longer tenable. Be that as it may, legends, as Dégh also points out, seek credibility, and this credibility is often, if not always, established on the assumption that someone must necessarily have first-hand knowledge, be it ultimately of social or personal origin, about the matter at hand. In other words, since "an undemonstrable legend is no legend at all" one must, Dégh argues, "postulate that every fabulate is based on a memorate," be it truly existing or assumed (Dégh prefers to call this postulated memorate a "proto-memorate").[241] Although it may seem far-fetched and even improper to compare Dahui's account with legends of alien abduction, haunted houses, or sightings of Elvis, what this comparison thus allows is for us to better understand why tradition and personal experience (*zheng*) come to coincide when the name of the game is seeking credence or proof (*zheng*) in the realm of everyday affairs (as opposed to, say, revelation).

And what about failure? We may recall that the autobiographies that we examined so far in this chapter exemplify what, for the sake of convenience, we can call a *failure* to die the great death and return to life. In spite of this potentially negative message, however, Dahui, Zuqin, and Hakuin's account of their illness seem to ironically provide the protagonists with a sense of authority and spiritual credibility. This incongruity

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[239] This, no doubt, is a reflection of the anxieties that stem from the "fragile" division of labor between the folklorist whose work tends to concern only the fabulate and the ethnographer or psychologist whose work is more concerned with first person accounts.

[240] Honko argues that "there are much fewer memorate composed preeminently of personal lements than those in which the memorate motifs agree with general folk tradition" in his *Geisterglaube in Ingermanland*, Folklore Fellows Communications 185 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1962): 133; cited in Dégh 2001: 77.

[241] See Dégh 2001: 69.

between the message (failure) and its effect (efficacy), I would like to point out, is largely in keeping with the folklorist Patrick B. Mullen's observations on the relationship between legend and superstition (or folk belief), to wit: "[w]hen a superstition involves a taboo . . ., the legend associated with it will usually deal with the breaking of the taboo and the consequences of breaking it" (Mullen 1971: 407). Borrowing the notion from the folklorists Alan Dundes and Vladimir Propp, Mullen also contends that the message of a legend may reflect the breakdown of structure (i.e., cause and result) and transgression of taboo, but the legend is still structurally dependent on the taboo.[242] I also note in passing here a similar argument advanced by Jerome Bruner: "*The function of the story is to find an intentional state that mitigates or at least makes comprehensible a deviation from a canonical pattern.*"[243] I would argue that the Chan autobiographies that I examine in this dissertation function in a similar way.

In closing, I want to make note of a set of autobiographies written by the Tiantai monk Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022). As Koichi Shinohara points out, these autobiographies, preserved in a collection of Zhiyuan's writings entitled the *Xianju bian* 閑居編 (Writings Compiled in Retirement), clearly demonstrate that this tension between tradition and experience was a concern to others besides those who claimed to be a spiritual descendant of Bodhidharma. From his writings, we know that Zhiyuan had suffered from a chronic illness that became the central theme of his first autobiographical essay entitled the Bingfu zhuan 病夫傳 (Biography of the Sick Man).[244] Illness was also the theme of some of his other writings and even served as a catalyst for compiling his own literary collection.[245] Later he wrote another autobiographical essay entitled

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[242] Mullen 1971: 408

[243] Bruner 1990: 49-50.

[244] ZZ101.152a3-152b2.

[245] For instance, see his *Bingfu* 病賦 (Ode of Illness); ZZ101.152b4-153a10. Shinohara provides a translation of his preface to the *Bingkeji* 病課集 (Collected Assignments in Illness); see Shinohara 1998: 281-282.

Zhongyong zi zhuan 中庸子傳 (Biography of the Master of the Mean).[246] This autobiography, written later in his life, however, is no longer preoccupied with his illness but rather with death. Unlike the first essay, which Shinohara characterizes as a "literary and philosophical [sic] self-portrait," this later essay is, Shinohara contends, is better understood as a piece of writing that conforms to conventional biographies that are often prepared as tomb or *stūpa* inscriptions. Shinohara also rightly contends that "[i]llness may have been an appropriate subject for a literary self-portrait, but not one suited for the idealization of the subject that occurs at the time of his death."[247] Here, we thus have a perfect demonstration of the division between *shi* and *wen*. Shinohara ends his piece on Zhiyuan's essays with the observation that the essays by Zhiyuan "also explain why conventional Chinese biographies, and particularly biographies of monks whose spiritual path is meant to lead them out of the realm of rebirths, do not say a great deal on their subjects' illnesses."[248] This, I submit, may be another important reason why the malady of meditation found its literary outlet in the autobiographical format.

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[246] ZZ101.110a9-113a3.

[247] Shinohara 1998: 296.

[248] Shinohara 1998: 297.

Chapter Four. Beating the Poisonous Drum

The essential and wondrous dharma of the Buddha is beyond the spoken word, beyond the written letter, and beyond the objects of thought. It cannot be sought with the mind, attained with no mind, constructed with words, nor penetrated through silence. It is like a drum lathered with poison

佛法要妙、離言説相、離文字相、離心縁相、不可以有心求、不可以無心得、不可以語言造、不可以寂默通、如塗毒鼓

— Dahui[1] (1157)

To see one's nature is like a drum lathered with poison

見性如塗毒鼓

— Hakuin[2] (1759)

Introduction

What happens when a great drum lathered with mixed poison (*zaduyao yongtu dagu* 雜毒藥用塗大鼓) is beat in front of a crowd of people? According to the *Nirvana sūtra*, regardless of whether they wish to hear the beating of the drum or not, everyone dies except those who do not die untimely deaths (*hengsi* 横死). Similarly, when the *Nirvana sūtra* itself is read out loud—note that hearing the words of scripture is likened to "death" here—we are told that afflictions like greed, hatred, and ignorance can be removed from almost anyone, even those who do not have the slightest idea of what the *sūtra* is saying!

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[1] *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (T47.1998A.829b29-c2). The date on which the general sermon from which the above quote was taken is dated the twenty-third day of the eleventh month of the twenty-sixth year of the Shaoxing era. This corresponds to January 6, 1157 in the Gregorian calendar.

[2] *Keisō dokuzui shūi* (HOZ 2: 341).

There is but one exception, the *icchantika*, who, metaphorically speaking, do not die untimely deaths.[3]

In a relatively short yet important work entitled the *Linji zongzhi* 臨濟宗旨 (The Tenet of Linji), the learned Chan monk Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128) makes good use of this morbid metaphor. Like the *Nirvana sūtra*, he also speaks of a drum lathered with poison that kills immediately when directly heard and kills later when heard from afar. All are subject to this general rule except, he says, those who do not die untimely deaths.[4] For instance, "when Linji," Huihong tells us, "was without sickness Xinghua, Sansheng, and chief seat Ding heard [the tenet] and died, [but] those who have awakened to the tenet in the last hundred-or-so years [belong to the class of beings] that die later."[5] Worse still, Huihong claims, "the various teachers of the dharma who speak of the Way as being devoid of benefit [belong to that class of beings] that do not die untimely deaths.'"[6]

In Huihong's eyes, Linji's tenet (i.e., his so-called "three mysteries and three essentials") was misunderstood by his contemporaries, who apparently saw no benefit (*yi* 益) in pursuing such arcane matters. As a result, few were able to "die" when they heard

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[3] See T12.374.420a8-15; cf. T12.375.661a21-28 and T12.376.893b24-29. Dharmakṣema's translation (T12.374) seems to have captured a unique moment in the history of the *Nirvana sūtra* as it preserves different stages in the development of the *icchantika* doctrine. The first few chapters correspond in large part to the earlier translation by the pilgrim Faxian 法顯 (337?-422?) in 416 (T12.376) and condemns the *icchantika* as beyond salvation. In chapter ten, however, the same *sūtra* speaks of bodhisattvas who vow to save *icchantika*s. For the *icchantika* problem, see Buswell 1992.

[4] ZZ111.172b6-7; cf. Keyworth 2001: 177.

[5] 臨濟無恙時、興化三聖保壽定上座輩聞而死者、今百餘年猶有悟其旨者、即後死者也 (ZZ111.172b8-9); see also Keyworth 2001: 177. George Keyworth's otherwise laudable translation of the *Linji zongzhi* makes a few errors in translating this passage. Keyworth fails to notice that Xinghua 興化 does not function as a verb here but as a proper noun referring to the name of Linji's disciple Xinghua Zunjiang. Likewise, Keyworth fails to notice that Sansheng is a proper noun referring to Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然 (d.u.) and that *shangzuo* 上座 ("chief seat") is a noun that modifies Ding. Baoshou Yanshou 保壽延沼 (d.u.) and chief seat Ding (d.u.) are also known to have been disciples of Linji.

[6] 而諸法派謂無益於道者、即不横死者也 (ZZ111.172b8-9); see also Keyworth 2001: 177.

the beating of the drum of the tenet. Fortunately, Chan master Fenyang Shanzhao had left invaluable guidelines for students to fully grasp this tenet, and it was primarily to these guidelines that Huihong hoped to direct his reader's attention in the *Linji zongzhi*. But, why Fenyang? Huihong's choice of Fenyang was anything but a coincidence or matter of partiality. Fenyang was chosen presumably because he showed deep appreciation of the three mysteries in his sermons and also because he was, as we learn from the *Chanlin baoxun*,[7] the first master to ever "raise [the sayings] of old" (*niangu* 拈古) and comment on them with verses (*song* 頌).[8] Others like Xuedou Chongxian, Yuanwu Keqin, and Hongzhi Zhengjue, as we have seen, had also attempted to bring this new technique to perfection. To this list we may also add Dahui and what is arguably his most important accomplishment, the *Zhengfa yanzang* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma).

The story that I wish to tell in this chapter, however, is not that of Huihong, Fenyang, or Dahui. What I hope to address instead is the question that I first raised to launch this entire study, namely how should we make sense of Hakuin's illness? Three different turns of events from three different contexts, I found, had played the most critical role in Hakuin's efforts to overcome his illness and they shall, therefore, serve as the proper topic of this chapter. Since we have already examined the first and perhaps most important context—Dahui, his illness, and silent illumination—to a considerable extent in the previous chapter I shall limit my discussion of this context to a quick review of the different ways in which men like Huihong and Dahui hoped to seize the tenet of Linji. We will then proceed to the other two contexts and examine the efforts to revamp the study of koans that were made in the late Ming and how these developments affected Hakuin and others in early modern Japan.

By setting the malady of meditation against the backdrop of these three different contexts, what I hope to demonstrate, as counterintuitive as though this may

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[7] See T48.2022.1033c9-24; an English translation of this passage can be found in Keyworth 2001: 150.

[8] For his *Songgu daibie* 頌古代別, see T47.1992.607c13-619a26.

seem, is that the malady of meditation cannot be reduced to *any* of these contexts. Nor, in fact, can we simple explain it away in doctrinal, social, historical, or biomedical terms. But how, then, are we to come to terms with the malady of meditation? It seems reasonable to presume that those who claim to have had some success in treating this illness might be able to offer us an answer or at least a clue. When we examine, for instance, the work of Dahui we see that he repeatedly argued that the malady of meditation stems in large part from hasty interpretations and understandings of the Way. As an alternative, one must, Dahui claimed, engage the Way directly and know the Way for oneself. But this, as I have attempted to show, was not a novel claim. Buddhist texts have sung the song of knowing the Way for oneself for quite some time. What they also sung, however, was a precautionary tune that warned its listeners of the potential dangers of this direct pursuit of the Way. Self-reliance, they warned, could easily and surreptitiously give way to a radical antinomianism or a heresy of naturalism.

Deep anxieties about these dangers of directly pursuing the Way, as we shall see, were shared by many during the late Ming. But, unlike Dahui, there were no esoteric transmission rites or heretics who advocated silent illumination to blame for these anxieties. The gaze of blame, therefore, turned inwards and the various sites of the subject—the sweat glands, the mind-and-heart, the feet, and/or the internal furnace known as *tanden* 丹田 or "cinnabar field" (i.e., any site that could not be accused of being responsible for the tendency to conceptualize the Way)—were made to bear the burden of these anxieties. The focus thus shifted from looking for the heretical (*xie* 邪) to "staying alert" (*jing* 警).[9] To see how novel this shift really was, it may prove to be useful to briefly review what had happened in the Song.

From Verse, Shout, and then to Tenet

Fenyang's recorded sayings, the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* 分陽無德禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Fenyang Wude; hereafter *Recorded Sayings of Fenyang*), is said to

[9] For instance, see Appendix 2.

have been compiled by his disciple Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 (986-1039) in 1002.[10] Under the supervision of Yuanji 圓璣 (1036-1118), the abbot of Yuantong Chongsheng chanyuan 圓通崇勝禪院 on Mt. Lu,[11] the *Recorded Sayings of Fenyang* was later restored, redacted, and reissued at Kaiyuan si in 1101.[12] Much to Fenyang's delight, his sermons were also incorporated, while he was still alive, into the imperially sanctioned history of Chan, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (fascicle 13), and hence eventually into the official canon carved at Sichuan under imperial decree in 1011.[13] More importantly, both texts, we must note, bear a preface composed by the same figure, Yang Yi.

As the impact of Yang and other literati on the ascendance of Chan in the Song has already been cogently discussed by Abe Chōichi, Ishii Shūdō, Suzuki Tetsuo, and more recently by Albert Welter, a simple summary of some of their findings that pertain directly to the goal of this chapter will suffice.[14] From the perspective of the history of Linji chan, there is arguably no event more significant than the radical change of heart (concomitant with a change of office) that Yang exhibited in the middle of his illustrious career. From Yang's own admission, we know that he had initially been influenced by two disciples of Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885-958) from Guizong si 歸宗寺 and Yunju si 雲居寺 on Mt. Lu while serving as prefect in Chuzhou (present day Zhejiang),[15] but we also

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[10] T47.1992.

[11] According to the local gazetteer *Lushan zhi* 廬山志 (fascicle 13), Yuantong Sungsheng chanyuan or Yuantong si was located on the southern foot of Mt. Yuantong, one of the many peaks of the Lushan mountain range; see ZGD 113.

[12] This is stated in the colophon; see T47.1992.629b29-c4.

[13] See T47.1992.603a (cited in Yangida 2001: 282); see also Yanagida 1983: 200. Woodblocks for the official canon were carved under imperial decree in Chengdu, Sichuan. This massive project began in 971, six years after the kingdom of Shu 蜀 was incorporated into the Song empire in 965. The project was initially completed in 983, but a supplement canon (*xuzang* 續藏) was added later to the main canon (*benzang* 本藏) to incorporate new texts like the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. See Shiina 1993a: 166-176.

[14] See Abe 1963: 267-270; Ishii 1987: 8-25; Suzuki 2002b; and Welter 2006: 172-186.

[15] This information is provided in his letter (dated 1015) to Li Wei 李維, a fellow redactor of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. The letter is preserved in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*; see Yanagida 1975: 515;

learn that he had come to be influenced even more by Fenyang's dharma brother Guanghui Yuanlian 廣慧元璉 (951-1036) after being appointed acting prefect of Ruzhou (present day Henan) in 1014.[16] Perhaps because of the great awakening that he purportedly experienced under the tutelage of Guanghui,[17] Yang seems to have eventually come to regard himself as belonging exclusively to Guanghui's Linji lineage.[18] This, in fact, is how he is remembered in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*.[19] That being said, we must be cautious not to overestimate the influence of Guanghui on Yang. As Ishii and Welter also point out, the shadow that the radical image of Linji had cast on Yang is already discernable to some extent in his preface to the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, which Yang had composed several years before his encounter with Guanghui.[20] Unlike Daoyuan's preface, which stresses the unity of teachings and Chan in the spirit of Zongmi's *Chan Prolegomenon*,[21] Yang's preface underscores the radical character of Chan as "a separate practice outside the teachings" (*jiaowai biexing* 教外別行) and thus paves the way for what was soon to come.[22] By no means, in fact, was Yang's impression of Chan exceptional and uncommon for his time. Like Li Zunxu, compiler of the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, Yang

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cf. ZZ135.777b. See also Ishii 1987: 1-18. For an English translation of the passage in question, see Welter 2006: 182.

[16] Yang was well versed in Buddhist matters. He not only studied under various chan masters, but he had also befriended the Tiantai monk Siming Zhili. For an invaluable study on Yang, see Nishiwaki 2002. Nishiwaki demonstrates Yang's interest in Buddhism by reading a work that Yang prepared to record the despair that he felt (and attempted to overcome) at losing his three-year old child to a fatal illness.

[17] For more on Guanghui, see Suzuki 2002: 22-25.

[18] Yang explains his awakening experience in his letter to Li Wei.

[19] See ZZ135.599a6-7.

[20] Ishii surmises that Yang learned Linji chan from Li Wei; see Ishii 1987: 20.

[21] Daoyuan specifically refers to the *Chan Prolegomenon* in his preface. Ishii even argues that Daoyuan conceived his work as complementary to Zongmi's; see Ishii 1987: 14. Welter makes the same claim, see Welter 2006: 175.

[22] For these prefaces, see Ishii 1987: 21-23.

seems to perfectly embody a larger trend that swept through the Northern Song, namely the growing influence of Linji's lineage on the literati elite and hence the court.

A brief comparison of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* and the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* brings this trend into sharp relief.[23] Unlike the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* largely ignores (or presumes) the details already covered in the former work and devotes itself to the exclusive task of documenting the direct line of transmission from Śākyamuni to Linji. Collateral branches formed by Niutou, Shenxiu, and Shenhui were therefore omitted from this revisionist history of Chan. That the towering figure of Linji occupies two fascicles all by himself is perhaps the best and most telling evidence of the ulterior motives behind the compilation of the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*.[24]

A similar, but by no means identical, line of reasoning seems to have also motivated the compilation of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Due in large part to the protection that they received from the southern kingdom of Wuyue 吳越 (907-978), Fayan Wenyi and his dharma heirs prospered in what is now Zhejiang and Jiangxi province and eventually came to play a decisive role in the retroactive construction of what we now call "classical" Chan. It was with Fayan's lineage that both Daoyuan and Yang Yi were also affiliated when they compiled and redacted the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Not surprisingly, the lives and sayings of Fayan and his illustrious disciple Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶 (891-972) are featured prominently in Daoyuan and Yang Yi's massive collection of Chan material (fascicles 24, 25, and 26).[25] However, with the establishment of the Song the good fortune that Fayan and his heirs enjoyed seems to have eventually run out as they later came to share the fate of their host kingdom of Wuyue. By the time the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* was published under imperial sanction with a preface prepared by the emperor himself in 1036 there seems to have been no doubt in the minds and hearts of the ruling elite that

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[23] The following summary is based on Welter 2006: 188-189.

[24] As the first collection of recorded sayings, Yanagida even goes so far as to call the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* a new chan genre; see Yanagida 2001: 283.

[25] See Welter 2006, chapter 5.

Linji had eclipsed Fayan to become firmly established as *de facto* orthodoxy in the Northern Song.[26]

Be that as it may, the intellectual legacy of Fayan's lineage continued to reverberate throughout the Song. According to Yanagida, this intellectual legacy was centered on Mt. Lu, a hotbed of religious activity since before the times of Fayan and even the aforementioned Huiyuan (see Chapter One).[27] What is particularly noteworthy about the activities on Mt. Lu, which began to take place during the Five Dynasties period and continued through the Song, is the concerted effort that was made to systematize the teachings of Chan (e.g., the *Zongjing lu*) and, taking advantage of this textual erudition, to publish the recorded sayings of masters, both old and new.[28] A good case in point is the publication of the *Recorded Sayings of Zhaozhou*, which was checked for errors by the erudite Fayan monk Chengshi 澄諟 (ca. 10 C.E) of Qixian si on Mt. Lu.[29] Ironically, Chengshi, it seems, had played an inadvertent role in the transition from Fayan to Linji dominance in the Song. According to Huihong's *Linjian lu*, the Linji master Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002-1069) had begun his studies under none other than Chengshi.[30] As we also learn from the preface to the *Sijia yulu* by Yang Jie, it was Huanglong who carefully checked the *Sijia yulu*—a collection that gave pride of place to Linji and his

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[26] See Welter 2006: 186-207.

[27] Yanagida 1983: 199-200; see also Suzuki 1984: 281-286.

[28] See the discussion in Yanagida 1983: 198-201; Yanagdia 2001: 279-287; and Keyworth 2001: 159-168. See also Suzuki 1984: 281. It should also be noted that a Yunmen monk Yunju Xiaoshun 雲居曉舜 (ca. 11 C.E.), abbot of Qixian si 妻賢寺 on Mt. Lu coined the phrase *gedeng chan* 葛藤禪 (J. *kattō zen*; kudzu or wisteria chan); noted in Gimello 1992: 404-405, 432 n. 99. Yanagida also cites an intriguing passage from the *Zhuzi yulei* (126: 4834-4835) wherein Zhu Xi praises Fayan teachings and contrasts them with Dahui's use of "three pounds of hemp" and "dry shit stick" (Yanagida 2001: 415 n. 110).

[29] Yanagida 1983: 199 and Yanagida 2001: n. 107. For Chengshi, see his entry in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* (ZZ135.874a10-878a3).

[30] ZZ148.586b9-587a1.

spiritual ancestors—for any errors before its publication.[31] The fact that Huanglong, the resident master of Guizong si on Mt. Lu, had played an active role in the compilation of the *Sijia yulu* seems to serve as a silent but sure testimony to the continuing intellectual legacy of Chengshi and of Fayan chan as a whole.[32] In fact, this legacy can also be detected in the *Recorded Sayings of Fenyang*, which was reissued by Yuanji of Mt. Lu, a disciple of Huanglong.

The publication of the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* and the *Sijia yulu* was, as Yanagida contends, truly a momentous event in the history of Chan. For, not only did it establish a new sense of orthodoxy for Chan but it also seems to have repaved the very terrain for doing so. Orthodoxy, to put it crudely, was now grounded firmly in the book and, more specifically, in the new genre of recorded sayings. Yanagida also shows that an equally if not more significant event had taken place in the process of developing this new genre. Subtle changes that were made to the biographies and sayings of eminent Chan monks show that their spiritual descendents were constantly experimenting with the very stuff of orthodoxy itself. In his attempt to determine the reasons for the *Linji lu*'s compilation, for instance, Yanagida came to focus on an interesting passage that sheds much light on these experiments:

> Someone asked, "Master, whose song do you sing? Whose style of teaching do you carry on?"
>
> The Master said, "When I was at Huangbo's place, I asked a question three times and three times I got hit."
>
> The monk started to say something. The Master gave a shout and then struck the monk, saying, "You don't drive a nail into the empty sky!"[33]

What drew Yanagida's attention to this passage is the unnamed monk's rather innocuous question, "whose song do you sing and whose style of teaching do you carry on" (*chang*

[31] See Yanagida 1974a: 1b.

[32] Yanagida 2001: 281.

[33] T47.1985.496b20-23 and Yanagida 1974a: 57b; trans. Watson 1993: 10 (with minor changes).

shuijia gu zongfeng si ashui 唱誰家曲、宗風嗣阿誰)? As Yanagida points out, asking someone his or her style of teaching (*zongfeng* 宗風) seems to have been a fairly standard rite performed by students who visit a master for instruction. In the *Lengqie shizi ji*, for instance, Empress dowager Wu (625-705) invites Shenxiu to court and asked him, "the dharma that has been transmitted [to you], whose tenet is it?"[34]

That being said, there does appear to be something quite distinctive about the wording of the unnamed monk's question in the *Linji lu*. As Yanagida points out, when the question of style is phrased in that particular manner more often than not the inquirer and/or the inquired belong to the spiritual lineage of Linji.[35] Most important in this regard, Yanagida believes, is Fenyang's teacher Shoushan Shengnian. According to the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, when Shoushan held a *kaitang* 開堂 ceremony (i.e., when he was installed as abbot and delivered his first sermon) someone asked him, "Whose song do you sing and whose style of teaching do you carry on?"[36] The monk's question from the *Linji lu* is repeated *verbatim*. Moreover, in Shoushan's entry we also find what appears to be the earliest reference to the catchphrase "Linji's shout and Deshan's blow" (*Linji he Deshan bang* 臨濟喝德山棒).[37] For these and other reasons, Yanagida suspects that the

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[34] 所傳之法誰家宗旨 (Yanagida 1971: 298-299).

[35] Yanagida 2006: 386. It should be pointed out here that in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* this set phrase is not *limited* to those belonging to Linji's lineage. A significant number of Xuefeng monks also used this set phrase; see T51n2076.390a3-4, 394b1-2, 394b21-22, 395a12, 396a4-5, 396a27-28, 396c4-5, 396c11-12, 396c13-14, 404a25-26, 406a10-11, 406b18-19, and 406c14-15. However, the large number of monks from Linji's lineage who use this set phrase in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* seems to clearly support Yanagida's case; see ZZ135.689a1, 711a16, 713a15, 732b2, 742a5, 744a6, 747a18, 753a8, 759a1, 759b7, 760a9, 774a7, 774a17, 776b16, 781b16, 801b5, 811a7, 815b16, 820b9, 826b12, 832a10, 836b4, 837a14, 845b15, 846a2, 846a9, 848a2, 848b10, 848b13, 848b18, 850a15, 850b11, 851b5, 853a5, 859b7, 862a3, 862b16, 864a8, 86413, 864b4, 895a16. We also find the same trend occurring in the *Jianzhong jingguo xudeng lu*.

[36] T51.2076.304a13-14.

[37] T51.2076.304b2.

stylized request for the master's *jiafeng* or style and the formalization of this *jiafeng* as "Linji's shout and Deshan's blow" may have actually begun with Shoushan.[38]

Regardless of who actually started the practice, it is clear, as Yanagida shows, that the above request had come to bear an intimate relation with the disciples of Linji during the Song. In the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, for instance, the same request appears in the entry for Yunshan 雲山, an obscure disciple of Linji. While this in and of itself is hardly worth mentioning, what is striking about the appearance of this request in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* is its conspicuous absence in the corresponding entry for Yunshan in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.[39] The same goes for Baoying 寶應 (ca. 860-930), a second-generation disciple of Linji.[40] Similarly, in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* an identical request is also found in the entries for a certain Jisong 齊聳 and an unnamed Silla monk from Mt. Chiri 智異山,[41] who only a few decades earlier had been noted as having no remaining records in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.[42] What all this suggests, as Yanagida rightly observes, is that the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* was particularly concerned with "filling in the gaps" through which it hoped to (retroactively) establish a flawless provenance of Linji chan. What is particularly noteworthy about the image of Linji chan that had thus been constructed in the Song is the strong link that it forged between the question of style and that of provenance. In other words, what we must bear in mind when speaking of the

[38] Yanagida 2001: 386. Abe Chōichi has also attempted to show the significance of Shoushan in the growth of Linji's lineage; see especially Abe 1986: 285-286. Some of Abe's arguments, especially those concerning the relationship between Shoushan and his teacher Fengxue, are problematic and must be reevaluated.

[39] Yanagida 2001: 386-387. See Yanagida 1975: 457b; cf. ZZ13.71a116-17.

[40] Yanagida 2001: 387. See T51.2076.298b21-c20 and Yanagida 1975: 469; cf. ZZ135.724b13-14.

[41] Yanagida 1975: 453b and 459; cf. ZZ135.706b18-707a1 and 713a15.

[42] T51.2076.289b23.

image of Linji chan that emerged in the Song is that legitimacy and orthodoxy were not so much matters of history or fact as of style.[43]

Although it is now well known among students of Chan and Zen that Linji's style is embodied in the shout, this, as Yanagida also points out, does not seem to have always been the case. Consider, for instance, Linji's entry in the *Zutang ji*. There we learn that Linji had attained a great awakening not under Huangbo but a figure by the name of Dayu 大愚 (d.u.).[44] Linji's entry tells us that his awakening had prompted Dayu to claim that he had thus acquired a "son," but no mention of any sort of transmission or shout is made in this oft-cited story.[45] In striking contrast, in the Song edition of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* we find at the end of Linji's biography an explicit reference to his "transmission verse" (*chuanfaji* 傳法偈),[46] which is largely in keeping with the theory of transmission espoused by the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (and, needless to say, the *Platform sūtra*). The verse is transmitted shortly before his death, but no one is specifically named as its recipient.[47] Although Sansheng is clearly recorded in his own entry as having received

[43] An interesting exception to this general rule is Qisong; see Morrison 2004. Qisong diverges from this rule in large part because of the specific historical conditions that led him to compose his work (e.g. Tiantai attacks on Chan theories of lineage).

[44] Yanagida suspects that this story is an attempt to bring Linji closer to Mazu; see Yanagida 2001: 390. See ZTJ 5/98/11-5/102/7. See also Watson 1993: 104-107.

[45] A few exchanges concerning the shout do appear in Linji's entry, but before the story of Linji's encounter with Dayu.

[46] Yanagida 2001: 390. See Yanagida 1976: 99a.

[47] The question of the verse is a topic that is too complex for me to discuss in the limited space of a footnote, but two interesting examples from the *Jingde chuandeng lu* will hopefully suffice. First, Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677-744), Mazu's reputed teacher, is said to have transmitted a verse to Mazu upon the latter's awakening:

The mind ground contains all seeds	心地含諸種
Touched by water they all sprout	遇澤悉皆萌
The flower of *samādhi* has no form	遇澤悉皆萌
How could it be destroyed and how could it be formed?	何壞復何成

(T51.2076.241a6-7; cf. Cheng Chien bhikshu 1992: 60)

Nanyue's verse is clearly an extension of the verses transmitted by the six patriarchs, wherein the metaphor of the seed, mind ground, and flower are featured as the central themes. What is also worth noting here is the fact that Nanyue, like the patriarchs before him, transmits the verse to a

Linji's "formula" (*jue* 訣),[48] the fact that Linji's verse had not been directly addressed to Sansheng in the anecdote from Linji's own entry seems to have quickly become a point of anxiety as we may glean from the subtle changes that were made to this anecdote in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*.[49] There we learn that Linji, as he was about to die, voiced his concerns about the future of his "treasury of the eye of the true dharma" (*zhengfa yanzang*). In response, his most senior disciple Sansheng boldly uttered his willingness to bear this important burden, but (as a test perhaps) Linji first asked Sansheng what he would say if someone were to ask him about his treasury. Not surprisingly, Sansheng replied that he would just shout. Linji then lamented that his treasury would perish in the hands of this blind ass (i.e. Sansheng) and conferred, instead, the aforementioned verse. Not coincidentally, perhaps, the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* does not call this verse a "transmission verse." All in all, it seems to be that case that the emphasis had shifted away from the verse and was placed instead on the transmission of the treasury of the eye of the true dharma that Śākyamuni had ostensibly transmitted to Mahākāśyapa by holding up a flower (or so we are told for the first time in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*).[50] This solution, however, was apparently not good enough. By the time it was redacted to be part of the *Sijia yulu* the *Linji lu* had dispensed with the verse altogether and allowed the exchange between Linji

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specific disciple, namely Mazu. The same, however, cannot be said of Mazu. Although he also provides what appears to be a transmission verse, the verse is transmitted during a *shizhong* sermon and no one in particular is named as its recipient; see T51.2076.246a. The verse goes as follows:

At all times expound upon the mind ground	心地隨時說
And for *bodhi* do just the same	菩提亦只寧
Phenomena and Principle are without mutual obstruction	事理俱無礙
To be born is to be unborn	當生即不生

(T51.2076.246a18-19; cf. Cheng Chien bhikshu 1992: 63)

Yanagida compares the records of Mazu in the *Zongjing lu*, *Zutang ji*, *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, and *Sijia yulu*, and convincingly shows that a certain segment of his *shizhong* sermons had consistently served as the basis on which the rest was built; see Yanagida 2001: 287-302. With the exception of the *Zongjing lu*, this segment includes the transmission verse.

[48] See Yanagida 1976: 102b.

[49] The following is from Yanagida 1975: 439a.

[50] Yanagida 2001: 392. For an invaluable account of the formation of and reaction to this apocryphal story, see Foulk 1999.

and Sansheng to bear the whole burden of serving as a paradigm of master to disciple transmission by itself.[51]

Whatever the true reasons behind this transformation may have been, the shout and thus the question of style had become largely synonymous with the treasury of the eye of the true dharma. But the ambiguity that we may readily sense in Linji's (or whoever compiled the record of Linji) dismissal of Sansheng's shout seems to have rendered the shout a precarious, if not down right questionable, emblem of dharma transmission. For instance, in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* and the *Guzunsu yulu* edition of the *Linji lu*, Linji is also remembered as having presented a challenging task to his students who hastily imitated his shout. The challenge, as is well known, was to witness two monks, one from the east hall and the other from the west hall, simultaneously give out a shout and then distinguish guest from host.[52] In questioning the shout, Linji was not alone. According to the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, his student Xinghua had also remonstrated others for indiscriminately using the shout.[53] Yanagida interprets this criticism as a sign that Xinghua had rose up from the ranks as a young leader who stood in opposition to the "shouters" represented by the senior disciple Sansheng.[54] As thought provoking as it is, given the lack of corroborative evidence, this argument should only be accepted with due caution and even with some skepticism. What Yanagida has nevertheless demonstrated with some certainty, I believe, is that a healthy mixture of enthusiasm and doubt had

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[51] Yanagida 2001: 391. See Yanagida 1974a: 99a58b-59a; cf. Watson 1993: 126.

[52] Yanagida 2001: 392, 522 n. 798. See Yanagida 1975: 436a and ZZ180.218b. See also Chapter Two of this study, n. 58.

[53] T51.2076.a19-29. See also Chapter Two of this study, n. 57.

[54] Yanagida also points to an intriguing passage from the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* wherein it is recorded that Sansheng, Xinghua, and an elder dharma brother by the name of Dajue 大覺 (d.u.) performed a *nianxiang* 拈香 (offering of incense) ceremony together to honor their teacher Linji. Yanagida believes that this passage is evidence of an attempt to reconcile the various Linji factions during the Northern Song; see Yanagida 2001: 393. See Yanagida 1975: 454b-455a.

always accompanied the shout and, to a certain extent, the question of style during the Song.

In sum, we may therefore proceed to our next topic with the following points in mind. First, we must note the ascendance of Linji's (and also, as Schlütter shows, Caodong's) lineage at court in the Song.[55] Second, it must be borne in mind that this ascendancy was largely wrought through the new medium of records of the transmission of the lamp and recorded sayings. Third, as sectarian consciousness grew, the question of style (and variations thereof) seems to have emerged as a concern among students of Chan. It is in this sectarian climate that we see for the first time a classification of Chan into the oft-cited typology of the four or five houses of Chan.[56] Fourth, in the process of establishing Linji's style as orthodoxy and orthopraxy questions about the shout and other expedient techniques that appear in the *Linji lu* (e.g. the three mysteries and three essentials) became the object of—if, in fact, it was not the very product of—critical inquiry.[57] This, notwithstanding, it also appears to be the case that the shout, and hence the question of style, had replaced the transmission verse as the primary terrain on which the battle of orthodoxy was to be fought—but not for long. As we may observe in

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[55] See Schlütter 1998.

[56] The publication of the *Sijia yulu* in the Song is a good case in point. The earliest reference to the five houses occurs in the *Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目 (The Eyes of Men and Gods; T48.2006.300a-) published in 1188; noted in Foulk 1987: 46. A similar scheme also appears in the *Zongmen shigui lun* 宗門十規論 (Treatise on the Ten Rules of the [Fayan] School) attributed to Fayan Wenyi; see ZZ110.877-882. Also important in this respect, as we shall see, is the *Recorded Sayings of Fenyang*. See also Yanagida 2001: 578-608.

[57] These concerns are, again, discernable in the *Linji lu* itself. In one sermon, for instance, Linji is attributed with the following words of caution: "Students don't have enough faith in themselves, and so they rush around looking for something outside themselves. But even if they get something, all it will be is words and phrases, pretty appearances. They'll never get at the living thought of the patriarchs!" (Yanagida 1974a: 59a; trans. Watson 1993: 23).

When asked about true and proper understanding, "Linji" also had this to say: "But students don't push through to the end. Because they seize on words and phrases and let words like common mortal or sage obstruct them, this blinds their eyes to the Way and they cannot perceive it clearly. Things like the twelve divisions of the scriptures all speak of surface or external matters. But students don't realize this and immediately form their understanding on the basis of such surface and external words and phrases" (Yanagida 1974a: 61b; trans. Watson 1993: 36).

Huihong's *Linji zongzhi*, the question of orthodoxy seems to have shifted away from the question of style to that of the tenet. Why this occurred (and whether we can indeed call it a "shift" at this early stage) is unclear, but there seems to be no doubt that, among his spiritual descendants, the tenet of Linji had become the primary battleground for orthodoxy in the twelfth century. The *Linji zhengzong ji* is another good case in point.

Transmitting the tenet, be it Linji's or someone else like Dongshan, however, seems to have been no less controversial than the shout. As we may recall from the previous chapter, Dahui had launched a virulent attack against the teachers of silent illumination for gathering what he calls "idle talk and long-winded phrases" (*xianyan changyu* 閑言長語) like "the matter before your parents were born" and transmitting them as the tenet.[58] In a general sermon,[59] Dahui also tells us that the descendants of Guiyang similarly transmitted the ninety-six circles of Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (803-887) and the descendants of Caodong transmitted Dongshan's five ranks. In this same sermon he also recalls a monk by the name of Jian 堅, a blood relative of his former teacher Zhantang, who served as Caodong master Furong Daokai's 芙蓉道楷 (1043-1118) attendant for over ten years. Demonstrating the popularity of the Caodong lineage in the Song, Dahui admits that he himself had also once studied under Furong's senior disciple Dongshan Daowei 洞山道微 (d.u.). But unlike attendant Jian who took over ten years to attain the Caodong tenet, Dahui claims, "in two years time the Caodong tenet was instantly attained by me."[60] Of what did the Caodong tenet consist? According to Dahui, although Daowei did teach his students to strive for awakening, he "indiscriminately borrowed the teachings of the various houses [of Chan] to transmit [this awakening]."[61] As proof of

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[58] This criticism appears in his letter to General Controller Chen; see T47.1998A.892a29-b1.

[59] The following is from Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 206b; cited in Hirota 2004: 136. This sermon is also cited in the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*; see Ishii 1979: 115-116.

[60] 二年間曹洞宗旨被我一時參得 (Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 201a); this sermon is also cited in the *Chronological Biography of Dahui*; see Ishii 1979: 115.

[61] 此人卻有悟門只是不合把許多家事來傳 (Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 206b).

transmission, Dahui tells us that he had to burn his forehead (*shaoding* 燒頂) and light a stick of incense on his arm (*lianbi* 煉臂).[62] *Dahui's Arsenal* is even more explicit in the description of this rite: "when one received transmission [from Daowei] everyone had to [light] an incense on their arms as a sign that the tenet was not falsely entrusted."[63] But Dahui is said to have asked himself, "if Chan has something to transmit, then why did the buddhas and patriarchs [assert] the dharma of witnessing for oneself and awakening for oneself?"[64]

Unsatisfied with the transmission that he received from Daowei, Dahui copied everything that was transmitted to him and hung this "wild fox slobber" (*yahu yantuo* 野狐涎唾) as a public notice in front of the saṃgha hall for everyone to see.[65] While the veracity of this account is questionable at best, as Hirota Sōgen points out,[66] it does seem to fit well with the general impression that fellow monks had of Song dynasty Caodong chan. According to an amusing apocryphal anecdote recorded in Huihong's *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 (Tales of the Saṃgha Jewel from the Chan Grove),[67] Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840-901) was privately called into his master Dongshan's room for final instructions before his departure. Learning of what was about to happen, a fellow disciple by the name of Sushan Kuangren 疎山匡人 (837-909) hid underneath a chair and eavesdropped on Dongshan's transmission of the *Baojing sanmei* and the secret formula of the five ranks to Caoshan. As the transmission rite came to a close, Sushan declared, "Dongshan's chan is now in the palm of my hand!" Hirota is certainly right to contend

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[62] Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 206b. On the practice of burning the body in Chinese Buddhism, see Benn 2007.

[63] 受授之際皆臂香以表不妄付授 (T47.1998B.953b4-5).

[64] 師自惟曰禪有傳授豈佛祖自證自悟之法 (T47.1998B.953b5-6). See also Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 146b.

[65] Yanagida and Shiina 2000: 206b.

[66] Hirota 2004: 136-137.

[67] For the following, see ZZ137.443b7-11.

that such mockery and criticism was directed not just at the descendants of Caodong but others who similarly equated transmission of the tenet with the handing down of formulas such as Linji's three mysteries and Yunmen's three phrases.[68] Consider also the example of Fenyang who, according to Huihong's *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*, had visited no less than seventy-one masters and "attained all of their wondrous styles of teaching."[69] Among the various styles, he is said to have had a particular liking for the style of Caodong, so much so that he even composed a verse commentary on the five ranks, the *Wuweiji* 五位偈 (Verse on the Five Ranks), and submitted them for verification to the Caodong master Shimen Huitie 石門慧徹 (d.u.).[70] Huihong tells us that Fenyang was later convinced to assume abbotship of Taiziyuan 太子院 in Fenzhou 汾州 (present day Shanxi) only after a monk by the name of Qicong 契聰 (d.u.) reminded him of his duties to transmit *Linji's* tenet.[71]

It is against this larger background of highly elaborate and esoteric textual practices in the Song or what Dahui called "ocean calabash chan" that we must attempt to understand Huihong, Yuanwu, and Dahui's efforts to "restore" the tenet of Linji. As Hirota also rightly points out, Dahui's criticism of this practice in his *Bianxie zhengshuo* is a reaction not just to the teachings methods of the Caodong masters of the Song as Schlütter contends but to these esoteric rites that many (including Dahui himself!) seem to have embraced irrespective of lineage affiliation. How, then, should we make sense of Dahui's reaction? When Dahui, for instance, famously spoke of "directly slicing" (*jingjue* 徑截) through to awakening he was, I believe, speaking not so much of a "shortcut" to awakening (implying something easily and instantaneously done without the mediation of

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[68] Hirota 2004: 137.

[69] 昭歷諸方、見老宿者、七十有一人、皆妙得其家風 (ZZ137.455b1-2). For Fenyang's verse summary of the "fifteen" (Fenyang actually sings of less than ten) styles of teaching, the *Guangzhige* 廣智歌 (Song of Broad Wisdom), see T47.1992.621a22-b28.

[70] ZZ137.455b2-3. For Fenyang's interpretation of the five ranks, see T47.1992.605b9-c7. For his verse on the five ranks, see T47,1992.c7-17.

[71] ZZ137.455b17-456a2.

words and letters) as of a *direct* approach to awakening that did not rely on the catchphrases and rites of ocean calabash chan (irrespective, again, of the sectarian provenance of these catchphrases and rites).[72] For Dahui, directly slicing through the obstructions of conceptual understandings (*zhijie* 知解) was less like taking a shortcut than like "drinking water and knowing whether it was cold or warm for oneself."[73] In other words, one had to see the words of the ancients for oneself and discover that no shortcut is possible—all one could expect, according to Yuanwu and Dahui, is something like the experience of trying to swallow a prickly chestnut shell.

As I have attempted to show in the previous chapters, this call to know for oneself should not be confused with an argument for some form of unmediated meditative experience (it's prickly!). Dahui had repeatedly rejected such experiences as both a grave illness and also the product of deluded understandings. What Dahui was arguing, instead, was that one should do away with gimmicks, tricks, and makeshift devices and exert great effort (*gongfu* 功夫) to *directly* and *personally* engage the words and actions of ancient ones like Zhaozhou ("death") and *make them his/her own* ("life"). Only this way could one avoid the predictable pitfall of reifying the content of awakening (if we can even refer to it as having content) as, for instance, the "experience" of rest, relaxation, and silent illumination or interpreting its content "conceptually" in terms of the five ranks, three mysteries, and ninety-six circles. That one should continue to study the ancient cases (and there were plenty to study) was, therefore, never an issue for Dahui. The problem, in fact, was that few were actually engaging the recorded sayings directly and relying instead on catchphrases and readymade interpretations transmitted secretly in esoteric rites. If there is any doubt as to the true intentions of Dahui one need, I believe, only consider the effort that Dahui put into compiling his massive collection of old sayings, the *Zhengfa yanzang*.

Despite, then, the strong tendency to associate Dahui with the apex of Chan subitism, it is rather in this context of his advocacy of what we may call lettered Chan

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[72] For "shortcut," see Buswell 1987: 343-356, 369 n. 94.

[73] See T47.1998A.921 passim.

(*wenzi chan* 文字禪)—as opposed to verbose chan or kudzu chan (*gedeng chan* 葛藤禪)—that we must try to understand his technique of observing the phrase.[74] We must also try to understand Dahui in the context of the growth of print culture during the Song. As more recorded sayings became available in print, anxieties about textual authority grew and Dahui's call to know the old sayings for oneself seems to have been a response to such anxieties.[75] Dahui, it seems, had believed that textual authority lies not in tradition, transmitted in the form of secret initiations in the master's room, but in the individual reader whose responsibility was to take the words and sayings of the ancients and make them his or her own.[76] As I hope to show in the remainder of this chapter, similar conditions seem to have led Hakuin to turn to the example of Dahui and particularly his lessons on the malady of meditation. We must not, however, presume that Hakuin's Zen can thus be understood as a simple extension of Dahui's Chan. For, the specific conditions that brought Hakuin to Dahui's ruminations on Chan and his illness were quite different from and perhaps even incommensurate with the conditions that first motivated Dahui. There nevertheless appears to be a repetition in the illness of these two figures, I argue, not because their respective experiences and socio-historical milieux were similar but rather because neither figure was able to explain away the same old problem of how to "die" but then come back to "life." It is in the repetition of this *failure* that their commonality lies.

This is not, however, to say that the specific conditions that led to Hakuin's illness is of no consequence in understanding the history of the malady of meditation. In fact, much of what Hakuin claims to have actually experienced (or the *particular way* in which he experienced his illness) owes less to the problem of being stuck in an ersatz "death" or to the writings of Dahui than to developments in Hakuin's own immediate

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[74] In doing so, I follow the lead of Robert Gimello and others. See Gimello 1992 and Levering 2000. My understanding of what constitutes "lettered Chan," however, differs somewhat from that of Gimello and Levering.

[75] On the issue, see the excellent essay by Susan Cherniack (1994).

[76] See Cherniack 1994: 24.

milieu. But what I mean by "immediate" here is not, as one might expect, Zen in early modern Japan. As I hope to show, a proper understanding of Hakuin's Zen and his illness cannot be had without a firm grasp of the notable changes that had also occurred during the late Ming.

Crib Sheets, Notebooks, and Oral Formulas

In front of a crowd of over four hundred people Hakuin is said to have delivered some lectures on the *Xutang heshang yulu* 虚堂和尚語録 (Recorded Sayings of Venerable Xutang; hereafter *Xutang lu*) at his temple Shōinji 松蔭寺 in Hara 原 (near present day Shizuoka). According to his chronological biography, the *Ryūtaku kaiso Shinki Dokumyō zenji nenpu* 龍澤開祖神機独妙禅師年譜 (Chronological Biography of Zen Master Shinki Dokumyō, Founding Abbot of Ryūtaku; hereafter *Hakuin nenpu*),[77] this momentous event occurred in the spring of 1740, when Hakuin was fifty-four. Before he delivered this lecture, which purportedly put him firmly on the map of Edo Zen,[78] Hakuin also dictated to his disciples some general sermons (*fusetsu* 普説) in which he addressed his deep concerns about the direction in which koan practice seemed to be headed. Three years

[77] The *Hakuin nenpu* is a revision of an earlier manuscript compiled by Tōrei Enji, which he completed in 1789. As Michel Mohr points out, a letter from Tōrei to Hakuin dated 1757 informs us that the compilation of Hakuin's biography was done at Hakuin's own request and was well under way by then; Mohr 1999: 309-310. For the letter, see HOZ 7: 40-41. This had been pointed out earlier by Katō Shōshun; see Katō 1985: 5-6. At Tōrei's behest, his dharma heir Taikan Bunshu 大観文珠 (1766-1842) began the revision of his earlier manuscript, *Chokushi Jinki Dokumyō zenji Hakuin rōoshō nenpu* 勅諡神機独妙禅師白隠老和尚年譜 (Chronological Biography of Old Venerable Hakuin, Imperially Recognized as Zen Master Jinki Dokumyō), and had the *Hakuin nenpu* published in 1820. Fortunately, Tōrei's manuscript is still extant and offers invaluable insights on the way in which Hakuin's biography evolved into its current shape. The first person to make Tōrei's manuscript available for public consumption and compare it with Taikan's text is Rikugawa Taiun (1963). Rikugawa's *yomikudashi* rendering of Tōrei's manuscript and recently discovered copy of an early autobiography of Hakuin entitled *Jūshōka yūshi retsumyō no tanyū* 重賞下勇士列名之端由, which can also be found in the third volume of the *Yaemugura* (colophon dated 1761), was printed more recently in Kimura 2000.

[78] As the *Hakuin nenpu* puts it, "From this moment on [the master's] reputation [as a teacher of] the Way spread throughout the world" 從是道價冠于天下; Katō 1985: 200-201. A similar statement is made in Tōrei's manuscript; see Kimura 2000: 117.

later in 1743, a fresh copy of these sermons was prepared by Tōrei Enji,[79] who had just arrived at Shōinji that very same year, and the revised manuscript was published shortly thereafter by a local bookseller from the Numazu post station named Kinokuniya Tōbei 紀伊国屋藤兵衛 as the *Sokkō roku kaien fusetsu* 息耕録開莚普說 (*Introductory Sermons on the Records of Sokkō*). Our investigation of Hakuin's illness begins with these sermons for several reasons. Not only did these sermons purportedly establish Hakuin's career as a renowned Zen teacher but the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* also happens to be one of the earliest printed pieces in which Hakuin launched a critique of silent illumination. We must also not loose sight of the fact that this text was Tōrei's first extensive exposure to Hakuin's views on Zen and may have thus played a particularly significant role in the shaping of this important disciple's vision of Zen.

As a whole, the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* is largely concerned with carrying out two closely related agendas. What Hakuin attempts to establish in these general sermons is, first and foremost, a sense of orthodoxy, which he traces back to Śākyamuni, the legendary Chan masters of the Tang, Dahui, Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆 (1077-1136), and the spiritual descendants of Huqiu such as Songyuan Chongyue 松源崇岳 (1132-1202) and Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185-1269) or, as Hakuin prefers to call him, old man Sokkō 息耕.[80] For Hakuin, Xutang was a particularly important figure in that he was the teacher of Nanpō Jōmyō 南浦紹明 (1235-1308), who in turn produced an eminent

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[79] The revised manuscript is attributed, in fact, to a certain Tōko 東胡, but, as Tokiwa suspects, this appears to be a pseudonym for Tōrei; see Tokiwa 1988: 199 n. 9. Indeed, according to Tōrei's chronological biography, the *Ryūtaku sōken Tōrei Ji Rōoshō nenpu* 龍澤創建東嶺慈老和尚年譜 (Chronological Biography of Old Venerable Tōrei Ji, Establisher of Ryūtaku; hereafter *Tōrei nenpu*) compiled in 1797, Hakuin had initially assigned the work of revising his sermons to Enkei Sojun 円桂祖純 (1715-1767) and Daikyū Ebō 大休惠昉 (1715-1774), but impressed by Tōrei's breadth of knowledge Hakuin later assigned the work exclusively to Tōrei; see Nishimura 1982: 101. Tōrei purportedly finished the work in seventeen days. See also Mohr 1997: 313 n. 12. Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, treat Tōko and Tōrei as different figures, see Miura and Sasaki 1966: 404-405-508-509.

[80] Hakuin's nickname for Xutang appears to be unprecedented. As many point out, the name Sokkō seems to have been borrowed from the title of a verse composed by Xutang; see T47.2000.1038c13. See also Miura and Sasaki 1966: 404.

dharma heir by the name of Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282-1338) or, as he is more commonly known, Zen master Daitō 大燈. Hakuin's true intentions are laid bare early on in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* where he attempts to associate himself with an otherwise little known monk by the name of Shōju Rōnin 正受老人 (Dōkyō Etan 道鏡慧端, 1642-1721),[81] a spiritual grandson, Hakuin claims, of Gudō Tōshoku 愚堂東寔 (1577-1661) and dharma heir of Gudō's heir Shidō Munan 至道無難 (1603-1676). By placing himself within Gudō's lineage, which stems back to Myōshinji's founding abbot Kanzen Egen 關山慧玄 (1277-1360) and thus to Kanzan's teacher Daitō, what Hakuin, in short, was attempting to do was to assert his authority as a direct spiritual descendent of Daitō, Nanpō, and, concomitantly, Xutang. This effort to link himself directly to Xutang, however, cannot be understood properly without considering his second agenda.

Hakuin articulates his second agenda through the mouth of Shōju: "This Zen school of ours has been in decline [since] the end of the Southern Song. [By the time] it was transmitted to the Great Ming [the Zen school] was all but eradicated. What remains of its poison is only [here] in the realm of the sun [i.e. Japan], but [even here it is as

[81] Our knowledge of Shōju is limited to the dearth of material available in the writings of Hakuin and his disciples. Shōju is the name of the hermitage in which Dōkyō Etan resided. According to the *Hakuin nenpu*, local villagers referred to him as Shōju Rōnin out of respect for the master. The unusual pronunciation *rōnin* for "old man" (*rōjin* 老人) was suggested by Katō; see Katō 1985: 17 (noted in Mohr 1999: 324 n. 13). For a detailed account of Hakuin's relation with Shōju, see Rikugawa 1963: 41-59. Rikugawa rightly notes that few seem to be willing to question the relation between Hakuin and Shōju and goes on the point out that no one had exerted more effort to establish this relation than Tōrei. Shōju himself, for instance, did not leave any writings behind and almost no record of him with the exception of Tōrei's biography of Shōju (*Shōju Dōkyō Etan anju anroku* 正受道鏡慧端庵主行錄) and his inscription for Shōju's memorial stūpa, the Saishōtō 栽松塔, is extant. Rikugawa also lists the following reasons for questioning the relation between Hakuin and Shōju: (1) Hakuin's stay at Shōjuan was very brief; (2) after his departure no contact was made between the two for over thirteen years; (3) no mention is made in the *Hakuin nenpu* of any special arrangements between Hakuin and Shōju's successor at Shōjuan, Dōjū Sōkaku 道樹宗格 (1679-1730), at the time of Shōju's death; (4) despite Hakuin's penchant for composing verses, he is not remembered as every having presented one to Shōju while the latter was still alive; (5) despite the deep relations that Hakuin had supposedly forged with Sōkaku, the latter's death is mentioned only in passing in the *Hakuin nenpu*; (6) Hakuin's reasons for leaving Shōju—he did not want to cause too much trouble for Shōju—is questionable; and, perhaps most importantly, (7) Hakuin purportedly acquires the malady of meditation after his departure from Shōju (!) and decides to consult other teachers. A summary of Shōju's life in English can be found in Miura and Sasaki 1966: 213 n. 42.

difficult to encounter] as the north star in midday."[82] In fact, much of what Hakuin had to say about the Zen school's decline in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* served as the underlying framework for his thoughts on Zen throughout his entire career. As we shall see, in a number of his polemical writings Hakuin repeatedly made an attempt to disavow the influence of late Ming Chan on early modern Zen (i.e., on his own Zen). In doing so he attempted to bypass the late Ming and forge a direct link with Song Chan through Daitō and Xutang (hence the above claim that the poison of Zen survives in Japan). This point, I believe, is demonstrated quite explicitly in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* where Hakuin simultaneously launches his formal complaints of the shortcomings and inadequacies of late Ming Chan while commenting directly upon the *Xutang lu.*

If we examine the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* carefully, we notice that its focus actually falls on one case from the *Xutang lu* in particular. This was a case that Xutang himself had once raised in front of an assembly over five hundred years ago during his abbacy at Jingci si.[83] The case goes as follows:

> During a *shizhong* sermon Qianfeng 乾峰 (d.u.) said, "The dharma body has three kinds of illness and two kinds of light, can any of you clarify that?"[84]
> Yunmen came forward and said, "Why doesn't the fellow inside the hermitage know what's going on outside the hermitage?"
> Jianfeng roared with laughter.

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[82] HOZ 2: 379; cf. Waddell 1994c: 15 and Tokiwa 1988: 32. As Tokiwa points out, these words are also found in the *Sūgyōroku* 崇行録, a text (or, shall I say, montage) that was compiled in the late nineteenth century by Imakita Kōsen (1816-1892) and attributed to Shōju (HOZ 1: 491). Imakita most certainly borrowed the passage in question from the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu.*

[83] Jingci si was established by the Wuyue king Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶 (r. 948-978) as Huiri Yongming yuan 慧日永明院 in 954. Qian Hongchu invited the monk Yanshou to serve as abbot in 961. In 1139, the temple received an official plaque bearing the name Jingci baoen guangxiao chansi 淨慈報恩光孝禪寺. See ZGD.549.

[84] In his translation of the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*, Tokiwa Gishin traces the case cited by Hakuin to Qianfeng's entry in the *Wudeng huiyuan*; see Tokiwa 1988: 206 n. 7-1. According to his recorded sayings, Xutang did raise a slightly different version of this case; see T47.2000.1047a25. For an English translation of the entire case in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*, see Waddell 1994c: 19.

"Your student still has his doubts," Yunmen said.

"What are you thinking of?" said Jianfeng.

"That's also for the venerable to clarify," said Yunmen.

"If you're like that," Jianfeng said, "I'd say you're at the stage of peaceful sitting (*onzachi* 穩坐地)." [85]

The reason for singling out this case was rather simple. As Hakuin himself unequivocally puts it, "if a person desires to see the *Sokkō roku* [i.e., *Xutang lu*] he must investigate this story first."[86] Hakuin even advanced the bold claim that a mastery of this case alone will be enough for one to assert that one has seen old man Sokkō face-to-face.[87]

But not so fast. According to Hakuin, the evil customs to which many in Japan adhered at the time of his lectures made the mastery of this case exceptionally difficult. "Even if you secretly attain the esoteric formulas of the five houses and seven streams and penetrate the dark tenet of the seventeen hundred [koans]," says Hakuin, "[these are but] idle and deluded thoughts and understandings of dead learning—what use is there of such things?"[88] As he continues, "How much more so for [those] who take the deluded gossip and artificial understandings of old deadbeat fools, annotate a record (*roku* 録) by making copies [of the notes that they took of this gossip] and pasting them on to that record, and spout off their own arbitrary [understandings] at will?"[89]

What Hakuin seems to have in mind here is a practice that has deep roots in Japanese Zen. This practice is often referred to as *missan zen* 密参禅 or the "Zen of

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[85] HOZ 2: 381; trans. Waddell 1994c: 19 (with some minor changes). Cf. Tokiwa 1988: 36. See the *Wudeng huiyuan* ZZ138.490b16-491a2; *Recorded Sayings of Yunmen* (T47.1988.574c7-13); and also Mohr 1997: 495 n. 778.

[86] HOZ 2: 381; cf. Waddell 1994c: 19 and Tokiwa 1988: 37. As Tokiwa points out, Hakuin seems to have been the only one to ever refer to the *Xutang lu* as the *Sokkō roku*; see Tokiwa 1988: 196 n. 1.

[87] See HOZ 2: 381; cf. Waddell 1994c: 19 and Tokiwa 1988: 37.

[88] HOZ 2: 381; cf. Waddell 1994c: 19-20 and Tokiwa 1988: 37.

[89] HOZ 2: 381; cf. Waddell 1994c: 19-20 and Tokiwa 1988: 37.

meticulous instructions."[90] As scholars are wont to point out, one of the earliest references to this practice seems to appear in the recorded sayings of the émigré Chinese monk Wuxue Zuyuan 無學祖元 (1226-1286), the founding abbot of Engakuji 円覚寺 in Kamakura.[91] Wuxue, we are told, was surprised and quite amused to discover that his fellow brethren in Japan were in the habit of keeping notebooks (*sasshi* 册子) full of phrases drawn from various sources, which they did not hesitate to memorize and cite during their interview with the master. Similar sentiments are also expressed in the *Seizan yawa* 西山夜話 (Evening Talks at Seizan) of Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275-1351). There, Musō complains that students were fond of the practice of looking for "substitute responses" (*daigo* 代語) and "supplemental sayings" (*betsugo* 別語),[92] that is, stereotyped answers to koans in their notebooks (*sasshi*).[93] In fact, Musō himself frankly admits to having stashed away such responses and sayings in his own bag of curios (*kotsudō no bukuro* 骨董袋) for years, which he later set on fire after he realized the futility of this practice.[94]

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[90] *Missan* is more commonly rendered "secret instructions," but I follow Michel Mohr's convention of translating *missan* as "*sanzen* minutieux," see Mohr 1997: 466 n. 645. The first attempt to carry out a systematic study of the practice of *missan* appears to be Suzuki Daisetsu's article, "Nihon ni okeru koan zen no dentō" (1980). Similar texts called *monsan* 門參 (instructions of [this] lineage) were used by Sōtō lineages, and these texts along with other related documents of the Sōtō tradition known as *shōmono* 抄物 (colloquial commentaries) have been thoroughly studied by Ishikawa Rikizan. Japanese linguists have also shown great interest in some of this material as it sheds much needed light on medieval Japanese; see Kaneda 1976. Currently, invaluable research on the *missanroku* is being carried out by Iizuka Hironobu. For references, see the bibliography at the end of this study. In English, a very useful overview of this material can be found in Bodiford 1993: 143-162; see also Ishikawa 2000. For *missan*, see Haskel 1988: 55-106.

[91] See *Bukkō Enman Jōshō Kokushi goroku* 佛光圓滿常照國師語録 (T80.549.229b29-c7); cited in Bodiford: 328 and Haskel 1988: 65.

[92] Ironically, perhaps, one of the most famous collections of substitute responses and supplemental sayings were compiled by none other than Xutang Zhiyu; see T47.2000.1024b-1034b.

[93] T80.2555.495a17 (cf. Yanagida 1983c: 118). See also Yanagida 1973: 118-119; cited in Haskel 1988: 66.

[94] T80.2555.493c29 (cf. Yanagida 1983c: 106); noted in Yanagida 1967: 115. There has been a tendency to read Musō's style of Zen as being overly literary, but Musō himself makes it very clear in the *Seizan yawa* that he is following the precedent of Yuanwu and Dahui who, as we have seen,

In a polemical work entitled *Bukai nanshin* 霧海南針 (A Compass in the Foggy Sea), the Japanese monk Chōon Dōkai 潮音道海 (1628-1695) similarly reports that the practice of collecting "plain words" (*heiwa* 平話) and capping phrases (*jakugo*),[95] arranging them in the fixed sequence of "*hekizen* 壁前, *hekigan* 壁巖, and *hekigo* 壁後,"[96] and keeping these phrase collections in special pouches or boxes known as *ankenbukuro* 行券袋 or *missanbako* 密参箱 has been going on for over two hundred years in both Rinzai and Sōtō circles.[97] The recent work of Tamamura Takeji and others have shown that the use of these notebooks did indeed become the norm as the locus of monastic training shifted from the communal saṃgha hall to the memorial temple (*tatchū*).[98] The use of these notebooks was

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argued for the direct engagement of sayings of old and not the abandonment thereof. On the question of Musō's emphasis on scriptural studies, see Akamatsu and Yampolsky 1977: 322-324. As Bodiford points out, the study of koans at *gozan* 五山 temples and *rinka* 林下 temples seems, at least during the Kamakura period, to have been quite different. While monks belonging to the former had to produce their own Chinese verse, the latter had to memorize and reproduce stereotyped sayings, that is, capping phrases (*jakugo*) or appended words (*agyo*); see Bodiford 1993: 147-148. For more on capping phrases in Rinzai Zen, see Miura and Sasaki 1966; Kraft 1992: 130-150; Hori 2003; and Hori 2006.

[95] "Plain words" or *heiwa* are used in some *missan* manuals in conjunction with the *daigo* or *jakugo*. *Heiwa* often function as explanations of the main case or terms that appear therein. This explanation is often done by adding Japanese particles to the Chinese characters that appear in the original case or in some cases simply providing a lengthy explanation of the case in colloquial Japanese. Other terms such as *heigo* 平語 and *ben* 弁 are used for similar purposes in these manuals. See Suzuki 1980: 246-247. An excellent example of *heiwa* can be found in Hau Hōō 1916 (rpt. 1971): 263-286.

[96] Keirin Shūshin's 桂林崇琛 (1652-1728) *Zenrin shūhei shū* 禅林執弊集 (Collection of Evil Habits of the Zen Grove), published in 1700, confirms that the Rinzai Zen koan curriculum was based on this tripartite system, which consisted of a total of three hundred koans; see Baroni 2000: 140.

[97] Yamada 1921, vol. III: 163. The first person to note this critique in the *Bukai nanshin* is Suzuki; see Suzuki 1980: 237. The relevant passage has been translated in its entirety into English by Haskel; see Haskel 1988: 82-83. See also Yanagida 1967: 253 and Baroni 2000: 140-141.

[98] To date, Tamamura's article, "Nihon chūsei Zenrin ni okeru Rinzai-Sōtō ryōshū no idō: 'Rinka' no mondai ni suite," which first appeared in 1950, is still undoubtedly one of the most important pieces to deal with this issue; see Tamamura 1980, vol. 2: 981-1040. Tamamura's study of Engakuji is also essential for studying the spread of *missan zen*, especially that of the so-called Genjuha 幻住派, in Gozan and Rinka temples; see Tamamura 1964. For a handy overview and comparison of the various koan systems (*taikei* 体系) used in the transmission of *kirikami* 切紙 (alt. *kirigami*) and *kechimyaku* 血脈 at Eiheiji 永平寺 and the *agyo* or *daigo* at Daitokuji (especially with respect to the

so common and widespread that some eventually ended up being sold on the market. Although few of his contemporaries knew this to be the case, Chōon, citing Ikkyū's 一休 (1394-1481) *Jikaishū* 自戒集 (Self Admonitions), maintains that the sale of secret instructions for profit had actually begun with the monk Yōsō Sōi 養叟宗頤 (1376-1458).[99]

Regardless of whether Hakuin was indeed referring to *missan zen*,[100] what we may readily discern in his general sermons is that he was concerned not so much with the practice of pasting secret notes on a record like the *Xutang lu* as with the specific content of these notes and, more specifically, the way in which their content began to reflect more recent developments in Chan and Zen. Hakuin seems to have been particularly disturbed by the tendency to rely on the work of Yongjue Yuanxuan 永覺元賢 (1578-1657), a widely respected late Ming Chan master from Mt. Gu 鼓. Despite what Hakuin believed to be serious shortcomings in Yongjue's speculations on the above exchange between Qianfeng and Yunmen,[101] all over the country teachers who lecture on the *Xutang lu*, as Hakuin

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Linji lu), see Iizuka 2003b. For the impact of the *tatchū* lifestyle on Zen, see Tamamura 1940; Collcutt 1981: 181, 215; Haskel 1988: 20-21.

[99] Yamada 1921, vol. III: 164; see Haskel 1988: 83. For the reference in the *Jikaishū*, see Nakamoto 1976: 365 (and 366 for *missan*). Ikkyū even identifies these secret instructions as the *Kuchū shōshutsu* 句中抄出 (Excerpts taken from Phrases); noted in Haskel 1988: 62. See also Bodiford 1993: 149. In his *Jikaishū*, Ikkyū launches a vitriolic attack on Sōi for handing down and on some occasions selling for profit something he calls *tokuhō* 得法 ("attainment of the dharma"), which from Ikkyū's account appears to be Sōi's instructions on certain koans. Ikkyū is particularly critical of Sōi's efforts to offer *tokuhō* and *inka* (certification) to laymen and nuns. Given the polemical nature of Ikkyū's account, it is difficult to determine with any accuracy what Sōi actually gave his students, but, as Haskel points out, Ikkyū himself, according to his *Kana hōgo* 仮名法語 (Vernacular Sermons), is said to have offered instructions on how to study koans to a laywomen in vernacular Japanese; Haskel 1988: 73. These instructions bear a striking resemblance to the *mondō* (question and answer)-style *missanchō* 密参帳 that were in circulation during the Edo. For samples of Edo period *missanchō*, see Suzuki 1980.

[100] As Mohr points out, although Hakuin does use the term *missan* and *mitsumitsu sanketsu* 密密参決 (resolution through meticulous instructions) in his work, his use of these terms should be distinguished from the practice of using stereotyped answers that is also often called *missan*; see Mohr 1997: 466 n. 645.

[101] See HOZ 2: 381-382; cf. Waddell 1994c: 20 and Tokiwa 1988: 37.

states in deep contempt, add Yongjue's speculations to Xutang's verse commentary,[102] write this wild fox slobber down somewhere, and transmit it to their students. The unsuspecting victims of this evil practice, Hakuin laments, thus find themselves burying their spirits in these muddy understandings and injuring their inherent wisdom. Oblivious to these dangers, they compete with each other for this transmission, copy it, and hide it like a secret—they never let anyone else see it.[103]

Some, according to Hakuin, even prepare small crib sheets (*shōsen* 小箋) from Yongjue's work, paste them on to the *Sokkōroku*, and use them as aids to understanding the text. Lest there be any doubt, Hakuin claims to have chanced upon one such crib sheet himself and, to drive his point home, he reproduces the crib sheet in its entirety in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*:

> *Chanyu neiji* 禪餘內集 (Inner Collection of Leisure in Chan),[104] fourth chapter, general sermon [delivered] on the eighth day of the twelfth month (*rōhatsu* 臘八) reads:

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[102] Sokkō or Xutang's verse goes as follows:

> Qianfeng instructs the assembly [*shizhong*], "the dharma body has three types of illness and two types of light."
> [The scriptures] were brought over on *pattra* leaves but those have been awakened are few,
> Having borne witness to the numinous oneself one does not make it known to the world,
> As before, I am still [using] the Chinese translations,
> But there are people who know that they are Sanskrit texts
> (T47.2000.1021b7-9; cf. Tokiwa 1988: 210 n. 8.2).
>
> 乾峰示衆、法身有三種病二種光
> 貝葉持來曉者疏
> 自稱靈驗世無如
> 依然還我唐人譯
> 始有人知是梵書

[103] See HOZ 2: 382; cf. Waddell 1994c: 20 and Tokiwa 1988: 38.

[104] The preface to the *Chanyu neiji* is dated the fourth month of 1643; see ZZ125.403a1. The *Chanyu neiji* is scattered throughout the *Yongjue heshang guanglu* 永覺和尚廣錄 (ZZ125.401a1-792a13)

> Jianfeng said, "The dharma body has three kinds of illness and two kinds of light." You should also know that there is an opening through which you can go beyond (*xiangshang* 向上). Now, without concerning myself with the loss of my eyebrows this old monk will comment on and deconstruct (*chūha* 註破) [Jianfeng's story] for all of you.
>
> As a rule, mountains, rivers, the great earth, light and darkness, form and emptiness, and all myriad phenomena obstruct the [inherent] radiance of your eyes. They are all impediments to the dharma body. This is referred to as a kind of illness.
>
> Or, you see the emptiness of all dharmas and you vaguely (*wenwendi* 隱隱地) notice the principle of the dharma body. This is called being attached to the dharma and not being able to forget it. This also is a kind of illness.
>
> Or, you have penetrated and attained the dharma body, but upon review you realize that there is no place to rely on, nothing to argue, and nothing to point out. This also is being attached to the dharma and not being able to forget it. This is the last kind of illness.
>
> The first kind of illness is a kind of light that doesn't penetrate through. The latter two illnesses are likewise a kind of light that doesn't penetrate through. If a student penetrates the opening through which he can go beyond, then the three kinds of illness and two kinds of light can be destroyed (*ha* 破) without even a single tweak. Only then can it be referred to as the completion of the investigation and learning of the matter.[105]

As Tokiwa Gishin points out, Yongjue's understanding of Qianfeng and Yunmen's story is based in large part on the famous case of "Yunmen's two illnesses," which we examined in Chapter Three. Despite having such an authoritative precedent for his interpretation—a precedent that Hakuin was most certainly aware of—Yongjue is quickly

[105] See HOZ 2: 382; cf. Waddell 1994c: 20-21 and Tokiwa 1988: 38-39. For the reference in the *Chanyu neiji*, see *Yongjue heshang guanglu* (ZZ125.464a12-b2); cited in Tokiwa 1988: 210 n. 8.3.

dismissed by Hakuin as indulging in idle learning.[106] If we explain away Qianfeng and Yunmen's story this way (i.e., by using "Yunmen's two illnesses"), how, Hakuin retorts, are we then to make sense of the Yunmen's remark, "Why doesn't the fellow inside the hermitage know what's going on outside the hermitage?" In lieu of licking up Yongjue's fox slobber, Hakuin insists that one should concentrate on investigating the case until clean sweat begins to flow from one's body.[107] In short, what Hakuin eagerly awaits, in his own words, is for "one dimwit of a monk to throw his body into a poisonous flame and die the great death."[108]

As we learn from the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*, Yongjue was not the only late Ming monk that deeply troubled Hakuin. Hakuin also spent a considerable amount of time rebutting the claims of the eminent late Ming monk Yunqi Zhuhong in his general sermons. In his commentary on the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the *Amituojing shuchao* 阿彌陀經疏鈔, Zhuhong, for instance, claimed that the *Platform Sūtra* had mistakenly identified India with the land of bliss (*sukhāvatī*).[109] He even claimed that, since the *Platform Sūtra* was composed not by Huineng himself but by his disciples, there is a good chance that the text is full of similar errors and is therefore unsuitable for beginners.[110] For Hakuin, what was most disturbing about Zhuhong's claim was its literalism. If Zhuhong criticizes the *Platform Sūtra* for stating that the land of bliss is one hundred and

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[106] See HOZ 2: 382; cf. Waddell 1994c: 21 and Tokiwa 1988: 39.

[107] HOZ 2: 384; cf. Waddell 1994c: 23 and Tokiwa 1988: 42.

[108] HOZ 2: 386; cf. Waddell 1994c: 26 and Tokiwa 1988: 46-47.

[109] See ZZ33. 473b8-474b9 (especially 474a13-14). For the passage in question from the *Platform Sūtra*, see T48.2008.352a15-17; noted in Tokiwa 1988: 250 n. 29.1. The passage in question does not appear in the Dunhuang version; see Yampolsky 1967: 156.

As evidence of Zhuhong's influence, Hakuin cites the *Hōbōdankyō kōkan* 法寶壇經肯窾, a commentary on the *Platform Sūtra*, written by a certain Ekijun 益淳 or Midorino Rōnin 緑埜老人 and published in Kyoto in 1697. Hakuin spares no harsh words for this text's support of Zhuhong's argument that the *Platform Sūtra* had identified the pure land with India. See HOZ 2: 405-406; cf. Waddell 1994c: 52 and Tokiwa 1988: 92 & 257 n. 32.

[110] HOZ 2: 401; cf. Waddell 1994c: 47 and Tokiwa 1988: 83.

eight thousand *li* from China (which Zhuhong took to be a reference to the literal distance between the two countries), then how, Hakuin sardonically asks, would then he make sense of the fact that the land of bliss is also just a couple of miles or even a couple of inches away from us?[111] As Hakuin did not hesitate to bluntly point out, what Zhuhong had failed to grasp was the fact that the land of bliss or pure land is an expedient means and thus not to be taken literally.[112] What Zhuhong, in other words, imprudently assumed was that "a pure land and a buddha exists external to the mind."[113]

Had this misunderstanding of the *Platform Sūtra* been limited to Zhuhong the individual, Hakuin would have probably spared him such harsh words, but Zhuhong had committed the serious offense of trying to keep not only himself but also others from hearing or seeing the *Platform Sūtra* on the grounds that the *sūtra* did not agree with his own personal convictions.[114] If teachers thus compel beginners to chant the *nenbutsu* and prevent them from reading anything but the three pure land scriptures, then how, Hakuin asks, are we to carry on the wisdom and mandate of the buddhas?[115] In this respect, Hakuin maintains that Zhuhong's offense can be likened to the infamous book-burning incident (213 B.C.E.) of Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝. But few, if any, seem to have shared Hakuin's opinion of Zhuhong. In fact, much to Hakuin's dismay, Zhuhong was often praised as a genuine teacher (*shinsei no dōshi* 真正之導師) and a great venerable of the Chan, Teaching, and Vinaya traditions.[116] Needless to say, Hakuin found such praise unacceptable. As he explains, "nowadays throughout the Zen grove one all too often encounters many brigands of men like [Zhuhong] who maintain tranquil silence

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[111] HOZ 2: 404; cf. Waddell 1994c: 50-51 and Tokiwa 1988: 89.

[112] HOZ 2: 407; cf. Waddell 1994c: 55 and Tokiwa 1988: 96.

[113] HOZ 2: 407-408; cf. Waddell 1994c: 55 and Tokiwa 1988: 96-97.

[114] HOZ 2: 408; cf. Waddell 1994c: 55 and Tokiwa 1988: 97.

[115] HOZ 2: 409; trans. Waddell 1994c: 57.

[116] HOZ 2: 410.

(*jakumoku* 寂默) and withered-tree sitting (*koza* 枯坐) to the death. They consider this to be the Way and detest whatever disagrees with their own realizations (*shō* 證). Just like a wild ghost that fears a sacred talisman, they see the Buddhist scriptures as they would a mortal enemy and do not allow people to read them."[117]

Here we have an excellent example of Hakuin's attempt to frame the threat that these late Ming masters posed to the Japanese Zen community—that is, an exegetical and philological practice that discouraged one from directly engaging the scriptures themselves—in the old rhetoric of observing the phrase and silent illumination. As one may readily glean from these and other polemical writings by Hakuin, his use of this rhetoric was deliberate, meticulously researched, and skillfully executed. Not only did he, for instance, repeatedly refer to the narrative of Dahui's awakening and the great death in speaking of this heresy, but he also described the teaching(s) of other Zen priests of his day in the following manner:

> Don't misdirect your effort by chasing around looking for something outside yourself. All you have to do is to concentrate on being mindless (*munen* 無念) and doing nothing (*musa* 無作) whatsoever. No practice (*fushū* 不修). No realization (*fushō* 不證). Doing nothing, the state of no-mind is the direct path to sudden realization (*tonshō* 頓證). No practice, no realization, is the true principle—things as they really are.[118]

Consider also Hakuin's reference to the teachings of Shishuang Qingzhu from the *Wudeng huiyuan*, which we examined in Chapter Two.[119] According to his disciple Jiufeng Daoqian, Shishuang, we may recall, had taught his students to "relax and rest as if cold and damp, as if there is only a single thought for ten thousand years, like cold ashes and

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[117] HOZ 2: 410; cf. Waddell 1994c: 58 and Tokiwa 1988: 101. Needless to say, this is a gross misrepresentation of Zhuhong's attitude towards scriptures. In fact, Zhuhong launched a harsh attack on those (most notably the literati) who attack Buddhism without ever having read its scriptures; see Lianchi dashi 2004: 23-24.

[118] HOZ 2: 386-387; trans. Waddell 1994c: 26 (with some minor changes).

[119] See HOZ 2: 423.

withered trees, like an incense burner in an ancient shrine, and like a strip of white silk." When Jiufeng challenged the assembly to discern the true intentions (*yi*) behind this teaching, a senior disciple lit a stick of incense and terminated his life before the incense burned down as a bold demonstration of the intentions of his late master. Jiufeng, we are told, then patted the dead monk on the back and said, "you have not seen the master's intentions even in your dreams."[120] Hakuin had nothing but words of praise for Jiufeng's dismissal of this literalistic understanding of Shishuang's intentions.

In further support of his case against silent illumination and literalistic understandings of death-qua-barrier, Hakuin, as Dahui had done several centuries before him, also cites Zhenjing Kewen's sharp criticism of this state of "resting and relaxing like an incense burner in an old shrine" as a potential hindrance to one's pursuit of the Way. As Hakuin states on several occasions in his general sermons, the only way to truly grasp the Way is to tackle "critical phrases that are difficult-to-pass" (*nantō watō* 難透話頭) after penetrating an initial critical phrase or koan like Zhaozhou's "no."[121] Hakuin seems to have been able to advance this claim with great confidence because he saw a clear precedent for the use of *nantō watō* in the narrative of Dahui's awakening under the tutelage of Yuanwu. (After his initial breakthrough, Dahui, we may recall, had similarly received the koan, "the phrase 'being' and 'non-being' are like wisterias that grow on trees.") Hakuin lists a few other *nantō watō* for the sake of his audience in his *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu.* As one might expect, Hakuin first mentions Xutang who, despite his initial awakening while investigating the phrase "the old sail not yet hoisted" (*kohan mada kakezaru* 古帆未掛),[122] had continued to investigate "Sushan's long-life *stūpa*" (*Sozan jutō*

[120] HOZ 2: 424; cf. Waddell 1994c: 77. It should be noted here that Zhuhong cites the same episode from the *Wudeng huiyuan* and makes an almost identical claim; see Lianchi dashi 2004: 24-25.

[121] HOZ 2: 420-421; cf. Waddell 1994c: 72-73 and Tokiwa 1988: 125-126. Hakuin's account of Dahui's awakening experience is largely based on the general sermon for Jinli examined in chapter three. For Zhaozhou's "no" followed by a *nantō* koan, see HOZ 2: 441; cf. Waddell 1994c: 101 and Tokiwa 1988: 173.

疎山壽塔), a *nantō watō*, for four more years.[123] Hakuin also cites Daitō's "in the morning our eyebrows meet and in the evening we brush shoulders—what do I look like?"[124] and Kanzan's "the oak tree [in the garden] contains a vital function that works like a bandit."[125] Only when one bores through such *nantō watō* and clean sweat begins to flow, says Hakuin, can one call him or herself a descendent of Xutang.[126]

Hakuin's contempt for silent illumination—which, as we have seen, functions in his writings as a catchword for what he believed to be was the threat that late Ming Chan posed to the practice of directly engaging the scriptures and, more specifically, the koans of old—did not subside with the passing of time. In fact, it only became more bitter and acrimonious. Most notable in this respect are a number of letters that he wrote in the late 1740s and early 1750s. What is particularly striking about these letters is the effort that Hakuin made to explain the "proper" form of koan practice by couching it in terms of the prevention and/or cure of the malady of meditation. Consider, for instance, the letter

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[122] HOZ 2: 441; cf. Waddell 1994c: 101 and Tokiwa 1988: 173. As Tokiwa points out, the earliest reference to this phrase appears in the entry for Yantou 巖頭 (828-887) in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T51.2076.327a2); see Tokiwa 342 n. 70.1. See also Yoshizawa 1999c: 251 and 330.

[123] HOZ 2: 441; cf. Waddell 1994c: 101 and Tokiwa 1988: 173. As Tokiwa points out, this account appears in a general sermon from the *Xutang lu* (T47.2000.1014a29-b18); see Tokiwa 342 n. 70.1. Sushan's long-life *stūpa* (a *stūpa* constructed while the person is still alive), as Tokiwa also points out, appears in various sources, the earliest of which is the *Zutang ji* (ZTJ 3/31/7); see Tokiwa 1988: 343 n. 70.1. Tokiwa maintains that Hakuin most likely acquired this koan from Sushan Kuangren's entry in the *Wudeng huiyuan* (ZZ138.484a10-b2); see Tokiwa 1988: 343 n. 70.1. For other sources, see also the *Dahui yulu* (T47.1998A.825b19) and *Xutang lu* (T47.2000.1052b12 and 1063c16). An English translation of this entire case can be found in Miura and Sasaki 1966: 60. See also Mohr 1997: 494 n 776.

[124] 朝眉結夕肩交我何似生 (HOZ 2: 441); trans. Waddell 1994c: 101 (with minor changes). See also Tokiwa 1988: 174. This saying is attributed to Daitō in his account of conduct, *Daitō kokushi gyōjō* 大燈國師行状; see T81.2566.224a11-12. See also Suzuki 1981: 398.

[125] 柏樹子話有賊機 (HOZ 2: 442); trans. Waddell 1994c: 101 (with minor changes). See also Tokiwa 1988: 174. Kanzan's saying can be found in his entry in the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 (Biography of Eminent Monks from Japan) by the Rinzai Zen monk Mangen Shiban卍元師蛮 (1626-1710) in 1702; see DBZ 63: 178c23. For the critical phrase Zhaozhou's oak tree in the garden (*tingqian boshu* 庭前柏樹), see T48.2005.297c5-11. For some historical background on the compilation of the *Honchō kōsōden*, see Mohr 1994: 351-352.

[126] HOZ 2: 442; cf. Waddell 1994c: 101 and Tokiwa 1988: 174.

he wrote to Nabeshima Naotsune 鍋島直恒 (1701-1749), governor of Settsu 摂津守 and lord of the Hasu no Ike domain 蓮池藩主.[127] Nabeshima's interest in koan practice and his protracted battle with physical illness (which, probably to Hakuin's chagrin, proved to be fatal) seem to have served as the perfect occasion for Hakuin to address the two subjects together as one in his letter.[128]

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[127] As Philip Yampolsky and Yoshizawa Katsuhiro both point out, the governor of Settsu 摂津守 here refers to Nabeshima Naotsune and not, as Rikugawa suggests, Nabeshima Ainao 鍋島相直; see Yampolsky 1971: 29 n. 1 and Yoshizawa 2001a: 188 n. 2. In referring to Rikugawa's misidentification Yampolsky mistakenly cites page 178 of Rikugawa's work (the correct citation is page 198).

The Nabeshima house served as hereditary lords of important domains located in Northern Kyūshū, the most important of which was the Saga domain 佐賀藩 or Hizen domain 肥前藩. These domains remained in the possession of the Nabeshima family ever since Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598) appointed Nabeshima Naoshige 鍋島直茂 (1539-1618) to Nagasaki as his administrative representative. Naoshige's son, Nabeshima Katsushige 鍋島勝茂 (1580-1657), also served Hideyoshi, but he soon pledged loyalty to Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542-1616) after the battle at Sekigahara 関ヶ原 and was able to retain his status as lord of the Saga domain. The Nabeshima house is best known perhaps in the romantic portrayal of samurai life, *Hagakure* 葉隠, compiled by a retired samurai from the Saga domain named Yamamoto Tsunetomo 山本常朝 (1659-1719). The *Hagakure* has been recently shown to have been compiled largely in reaction to the heavy bureaucratization that took place in the Saga domain; see Ikegami 1995: 282-284.

Naotsune was installed as fourth generation lord of the smaller Hasu no Ike domain. Ever since the first domain lord, fifth son of Katsushige and grandfather of Naotsune, Nabeshima Naozumi 鍋島直澄 (1616-1669), the lords of Hasu no Ike domain were also given in alternative order the customary title of governor of Kai 甲斐守 (odd number lords) and Settsu 摂津守 (even number lords).

Hakuin's letter to Naotsune was published, along with two other letters, as the *Oradegama* in 1749. This early edition of the *Oradegama* was printed from woodblocks carved from manuscripts written in Hakuin's own hand. Two other letters in which Hakuin launched a virulent critique of *nenbutsu* were added to the *Oradegama* as the *Oradegama zokushū* 遠羅天釜續集 and the expanded text was published in 1751.

[128] For more on Nabeshima and his physical condition, see Yoshizawa 2000d: 261-275; and also Yoshizawa 2001a: 533. According to the *Hasu no Ike han nisshi* 蓮の池藩日誌, Nabeshima Naotsune first showed signs of illness in the early half of the 1730s. For much of the rest of his life, Nabeshima struggled with repeated bouts of illness and with raising funds for his *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 (alternate attendance system) visits to Edo. On numerous occasions, Nabeshima requested a delay in his visit to Edo on account of his illness. It was in the course of making his obligatory trips to Edo that Nabeshima paid visit to Hakuin (one three different occasions) to consult the master on koan training; see Yoshizawa 2000d: 270-271. As Yoshizawa points out, Hakuin composed a short eulogy for Nabeshima when his remains passed through Hara—which was located on the Tōkaidō road—on its way back from Edo to Kyūshū; see Yoshizawa 2000d: 269-270. This eulogy

Hakuin begins the letter with his praise of Nabeshima's efforts to devote himself to meditative-work (*kufū* 工夫) in both the realm of activity and that of quietude (*dōjōnikyō* 動静二境).[129] This customary praise is then immediately followed by a warning against being blocked in either the active or quiet state or falling into the two extremes of torpor and excitation (*konsan* 昏散). If one were to fall into such extremes by mishandling the mind, then, according to Hakuin, "the heart-fire will rise up against its natural course, the lung-metal will be injured and weakened, the primal life-force will be depleted, and one will frequently succumb to illnesses and symptoms that are quite difficult to cure."[130] On the other hand, if one relies on the practice of inner contemplation (*naikan* 内觀) and thus tallies with what Hakuin calls "the secret formula of nourishing life" (*yōjō no hiketsu* 養生ノ秘訣), both mind and body will then become strong and all matters will be readily accomplished.[131] This, Hakuin contends, is evinced in the *Āgama*s and Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*.[132]

can be found in Hakuin's recorded sayings, *Keisō dokuzui* 荊叢毒蘂 (Poison Flowers from a Thicket of Thorns); see HOZ 2: 98-99.

[129] Yoshizawa 2001a: 188; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 29.

[130] 心火逆上シ、肺金痛ミ悴、元氣虛損シテ、難治ノ病症ヲ發スルモ間々多キ事ニ侍リ (Yoshizawa 2001a: 189); cf. Yampolsky 1971: 29-30.

[131] Yoshizawa 2001a: 189; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 30.

[132] Hakuin repeatedly points out that the primary source of this technique is Zhiyi's *magnum opus*, the *Mohe zhiguan*. In the eighth fascicle of this text, there is a long section entitled "contemplation on maladies" (*guan binghuan jing* 觀病患境) that is primarily concerned with the classification of various illnesses and their remedies; see T46.1911.106a19-111c21. Among these various remedies, one particular contemplation technique does indeed bear an uncanny similarity to the one suggested by Hakuin in his *Yasenkanna*:

> The cinnabar field is the ocean of vital energy. It can dissolve and swallow the myriad illnesses. If you place the mind on the cinnabar field, you will then harmonize the vital breath. You will therefore be able to cure maladies. This is precisely its meaning. Again, a certain master said, "The rising of the vital energy, the fullness of the chest, pain in both sides, tenseness of the back and spine, aches of the shoulder, intense agony of the mind, inability to eat on account of anxiety and pain, swelling of the heart, coldness beneath the navel, rising of heat and descending of cold, *yin* and *yang* in disarray, and coughing—for these twelve illnesses you should place [the mind] in the cinnabar field.

As further proof of the effectiveness of the inner contemplation technique, Hakuin admits to Nabeshima that he had himself once engaged in misguided meditative-work and foolishly believed that "absolute tranquility of the source of the mind" (*shingen tanjaku* 心源湛寂) was the Buddha's Way.[133] He thus came to despise activity and eventually became fond of quietude as a consequence of which he began to exhibit the symptoms listed above. However, by cultivating the inner contemplation technique, which he purportedly received from the hermit Hakuyū, Hakuin informs Nabeshima that he was not only able to overcome his illness but also maintain great health and vitality throughout the years. Better still, by practicing inner contemplation Hakuin even claims to have experienced the *nantō watō* "melt away like ice."[134] Again, as a reassurance of the soteriological value of the inner contemplation technique, Hakuin succinctly wrote: "Initially emphasis must be placed on nourishing life. Then, during your [practice of] the meditative-work of inner contemplation, without your seeking it and quite unconsciously, you will, how many times I cannot tell, attain awakening and gain

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> The cinnabar field lies two inches beneath the navel. ... By always giving rise to the mind in your feet, you can cure all illnesses" (T46.1911.108a22-b7).

Also, throughout the *Yasenkanna* and *Oradegama* Hakuin frequently refers to a certain "soft butter method" that he claims to have culled from the *Āgamas*. What he may have been referring to is a contemplation technique contained within the first fascicle of fifth century meditation manual known as *Zhi chanbing miyao fa* 治禪病秘要法 (*The Secret Method for Curing the Maladies of Meditation*); see T15.620.333a-342b. In the first fascicle of this text, there is a section entitled "Seventy-two Measures to Cure the Maladies of the Perturbed Mind in *Araṇya*." This section provides a detailed description of a therapeutic visualization technique called "visualizing the brahma king consecrating the head with ghee technique" 梵王灌頂擁酥灌法. The basic technique is as follows. When external noises disturb the mind and the four hundred and four channels thereby go into disarray, the meditator is instructed to visualize a youth pouring ghee onto his or her head. The meditator is then asked to visualize the ghee entering through the pores of his skin until it fills the entire body. A wall of clear ghee must subsequently be wrapped around the body, and this entire process of visualization must be repeated nine hundred and ninety nine times. If this procedure is performed accurately, the meditator is said to be able to eradicate any disturbances in the mind and make it soft and supple.

[133] Yoshizawa 2001a: 194-195; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 31.

[134] Yoshizawa 2001a: 196; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 32.

strength. It is essential that you neither despise nor grasp for either the realm of activity or that of quietude, and that you continue your practice assiduously."[135]

Having thus praised the practice of inner contemplation, Hakuin then launched a scathing critique of the practitioners of silent illumination. He describes these practitioners as those "blind, bald idiots who stand in a calm, unperturbed, untouchable place and consider that the state of mind produced in this atmosphere comprises seeing into their own natures"[136] or those who "say things like: 'Our very mind is itself the Buddha. What is there to do after we have finished our koan study? If the mind is pure the Pure Land is pure. What's the use of studying the *Records* of the patriarchs?'"[137] Such people, Hakuin claims, "are an evil lot and suffer from the great malady of meditation."[138] What, then, is the alternative? As Hakuin repeatedly states throughout his work, a student of the Way must see into his own nature (*kenshō*) and let go of his hands at a steep cliff and return to life from this death.[139] He must carry out meditative-work in the midst of activity (*dōchū no kufū* 動中の工夫) and neither reject nor cling to the objects of the senses. If, moreover, this practitioner wishes to test the authenticity of his seeing into his own true nature, then he must first test himself with some verses from scripture. But even this, Hakuin claims, is not enough. Once he penetrates these verses he must continue to test himself with such *nantō watō* as Sushan's long-life *stūpa*, Nanquan's death (*Nansen senge* 南泉遷化),[140] Qianfeng's three types of illness, Wuzu's water buffalo passing through a

[135] Yoshizawa 2001b: 197-198; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 32-33 (with some minor changes).

[136] Yoshiawa 2001b: 215; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 40.

[137] Yoshiawa 2001b: 277; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 62.

[138] Yoshiawa 2001b: 279; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 63.

[139] Yoshiawa 2001b: 280; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 63.

[140] This critical phrase appears in ZZ138.136a18-136b7.

window (*Goso ushisōrei* 五祖牛窓櫺),[141] Daitō's "what do I look like," and Kanzan's "a vital function that works like a bandit."[142]

In a subsequent letter to Nabeshima Hakuin offered some further thoughts on koan practice. The primary impetus for composing this letter was provided, again, by the ailing Nabeshima who appears to have asked Hakuin about the relation, if there is one, between koan practice and chanting the name of the buddha Amitābha (*nenbutsu* 念佛).[143] Given the dire state of his physical condition, the prospect of attaining rebirth in Amitābha's land of bliss would, no doubt, have had newfound appeal to the ailing governor of Settsu. In response to this request to compare *nenbutsu* and koan practice, Hakuin first claimed that chanting the name of the buddha Amitābha will prove to be efficacious only if one uses it for seeing into one's own nature. As Hakuin himself puts it, "What does it mean to be reborn in the land of bliss (*ōjō* 往生)? Ultimately, it boils down to seeing into one's own nature."[144] But Hakuin also adds that one should either chant the name of Amitābha or investigate Zhaozhou's "no." Trying to practice both simultaneously must be avoided at all costs. Hakuin even claims that the dual practice of *nenbutsu* and Zen is an evil custom that emerged two hundred years ago from vulgar and heretical understandings.[145]

Despite the long tradition of chanting Amitābha's name in Chan monasteries for the purpose of attaining rebirth in the land of bliss, Hakuin puts most, if not all, of the blame of mixing *nenbutsu* with Zen on the degenerate state of late Ming Chan. Yunqi

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[141] This critical phrase is most likely drawn from case 38 of the *Wumen guan*; see T48.2005.297c12-20.

[142] See Yoshizawa 2001b: 272-273; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 61.

[143] Yoshizawa demonstrates that the first letter of the *Oradegama zokushū* was addressed to Nabeshima; see Yoshizawa 2001b: 536-537.

[144] Yoshizawa 2001b: 452; cf, Yampolsky 1971: 127.

[145] Yoshizawa 2001b: 482-483; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 140-141.

Zhuhong and Yongjue Yuanxuan are singled out as exemplars of this malicious trend.[146] Unable to progress in their own studies of Zen, Zhuhong, as Hakuin states with a tone of contempt,[147] compiled his *Amituojing shuchao* and advocated the exclusive practice of chanting Amitābha's name under the guise of Zen. Yongjue's fault was to compile his *Jingci yaoyu* 淨慈要語 (Essential Words on Pure Land and Compassion) and add fuel to this evil trend.[148] For Nabeshima and all those willing to lend an ear to his teachings Hakuin, however, attempts to set the story straight. Expanding upon, it seems, a teaching from the *Blue Cliff Record* that we examined in Chapter Two, Hakuin claims that a student of the Way must cut his life faculty and let his hands go at a steep cliff. Lest there be any lingering doubt as to what this would entail, Hakuin explains this experience in great detail:

> What is "to let go of your hands at a steep cliff"? Supposing a man should find himself in some desolate area where no man has ever walked before. Below him are the perpendicular walls of a bottomless chasm. His feet rest precariously on a patch of slippery moss, and there is no spot of earth on which he can steady himself. He can neither advance nor retreat; he faces only death. The only things he has on which to depend are a vine that he grasps by the left hand and a creeper that he holds with his right. His life hangs as if from a dangling thread. If he were suddenly to let go his dried bones would not even be left.
>
> So it is with the study of the Way. If you take up one koan and investigate it unceasingly your mind will die and your will will be destroyed. It is as though a vast, empty abyss lay before you, with no place to set your hands

[146] Yoshizawa 2001b: 496; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 147-148.

[147] As Zhuhong states clearly in his *Amituojing shuchao*, one's own nature is Amitābha and his pure land is mind only; see ZZ33.371a6-7, 409a13. Zhuhong's understanding of the relation between koan practice and *nenbutsu* is also clearly demonstrated in a number of examples and comments from his *Changuan cejin* (more on this later). For more on Zhuhong and pure land thought, see Araki 1985: 122-153.

[148] The Yongjue's own preface to the *Jingci yaoyu* is dated 1634. For the *Jingci yaoyu*, see ZZ108.1001a1-1026b17.

and feet. You face death and your bosom feels as though it were afire. Then suddenly you are one with the koan, and both body and mind are cast off. This is known as the time when the hands are released over the abyss. *Then when suddenly you return to life, there is the great joy of one who drinks the water and knows for himself whether it is hot or cold. This is known as rebirth in the Pure Land. This is known as seeing into one's own nature.*[149]

How comforting these words would have been to a man on the verge of death is impossible to know. But what we do know is that Nabeshima's death did not deter Hakuin from advocating the practice of inner contemplation as an effective remedy against the malady of meditation to other sick souls.

Consider, for instance, his letter to Jōshōmeiin no miya 浄照明院宮 (Rishū nyoō 理秀女王; 1725-1764), abbess of the *monzeki* temple Hōkyōji 宝鏡寺, and her younger sibling Jōmeishin'in no miya 浄明心院宮 (Sonjō nyoō 尊乗女王; 1730-1789), abbess of the *monzeki* temple Kōshōin 光照院.[150] According to his chronological biography, Hakuin had first encountered the two young abbesses at a lecture on the *Blue Cliff Record* that he delivered at Yōgenin 養源院, a subtemple (*tatchū* 塔頭) of Myōshinji, in the fourth month of 1751. On the fifteenth day of the eighth month of that same year (October 1, 1751), Hakuin wrote a letter to the two abbesses to express his deep gratitude for attending a sermon that he had apparently delivered at one or both of their temples in Kyoto.[151] He was especially grateful to hear that his sermon(s) had proved to be of some

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[149] Yoshizawa 2001b: 469-470; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 135-136 (with minor changes; emphasis mine).

[150] Both abbesses were daughters of the late Emperor Nakamikado 中御門天皇 (r. 1709-1735). For more information on the two abbesses, see Yoshizawa 1999b: 329-330.

[151] This letter is preserved in the first volume of a two-volume text known as the *Oniazami*於仁安佐美 (Wild Thistles). A copy of the *Oniazami* written in Hakuin's own hand is currently housed at Eisei bunko 永青文庫in Tokyo, Japan. As Katō points out, the second volume of the *Oniazami*, which bears no relation otherwise to the first volume, contains a brief note about Hakuin's trip to Kyoto. According to this note, Hakuin had delivered a *teishō* 提唱 sermon on the *Chanmlin baoxun* 禪林寶訓 (Treasured Lessons from the Chan Grove; T48.2022) at the request of the two abbesses presumably at one of their temples; see Katō 1999b: 331. In his letter, Hakuin appears to be

use in "nourishing life" (*yōjō* 養生). Just as in the case of Nabeshima, the addressee's ill health (*gofurei* 御不例) seems to have provided the primary impetus for Hakuin to touch upon the familiar subject of the art of nourishing life.[152] While there is no way to know for sure, it seems reasonable to presume that his sermon on the art of nourishing life would have largely consisted of the inner contemplation technique that he had received from Hakuyū.

In his letter to the two abbesses, Hakuin begins directly with a remark on the degenerate stage of Zen and the flourishing of silent illumination. Those who belong to the śrāvakayāna, says Hakuin, hear that the Buddha had once called having no thought and doing nothing whatsoever, no practice and no realization, "an unexcelled, true awakening," so they maintain a deadly attachment to that absolute tranquility of the source of the mind, erase thoughts and emotions, and attempt to arrive at the state of having no mind.[153] This, Hakuin tells us, is called silent illumination (*mokushō*) and those who espouse this practice are called brigands of dead snubnose-dogwolves (*shikatsusho no tomogara* 獦狚ノ輩).[154] These heretics may try to have no thought but they always end up having thoughts; they may try to do nothing but they always end up doing something. When they exhaust their will this way, they eventually abandon all their prior efforts and devote themselves exclusively to chanting the name (*denshō shōmyō* 専唱稱名) of the buddha Amitābha instead.[155] Zhuhong, Hakuin argues, was the main culprit behind the flourishing of this teaching in the late Ming. Without ever having consulted a true master or seeing into his own nature clearly, Zhuhong, Hakuin claims, gave rise to fears of life

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thanking the abbesses for hosting and attending his sermon on the *Chanmen baoxun* and not the lecture at Yōgenin.

[152] See Katō 1999b: 114-115; noted in Katō 1999b: 335.

[153] 聲聞乗ノ人ハ、如来ノ無念無作、非修非證、是レヲ名付テ無上正覺トスト説キ玉ヘルヲ聞テハ、心源湛寂ノ處ヲ死執シテ、強イテ勤メテ想念ヲ剥落シ、識情ヲ滅盡シテ、無心ノ田地ニ到ラントス (Yoshizawa 1999b: 119).

[154] Yoshizawa 1999b: 119.

[155] Yoshizawa 1999b: 119.

and death and advocated the exclusive practice of chanting the name of the buddha Amitābha. In short, "in name he may belong to Zen, but inside he simply chants the name and practices *nenbutsu* in the hopes of being reborn in the pure land."[156] Hakuin informs the two abbesses that this sort of teaching can be found, for instance, in Zhuhong's *Amituojing shuchao* and *Zhuchuang suibi* 竹窓隨筆 (Essays from a Bamboo Studio) and also in Yongjue's *Jingci yaoyu.*

One again, Hakuin voices his concerns about silent illumination by focusing on its negative effects on the body. If one attempts to silently illuminate in dead sitting while holding on to the dark cave of one's *ālaya*-consciousness, the body, according to Hakuin, will become exhausted, pain will assault the hypogastrium, a number of ailments will also begin to accumulate in the five *zang* (i.e., liver, heart, spleen, lung, and kidney) and six *fu* (i.e, stomach, large and small bowels, bladder, and gallbladder) organs, and suddenly one will become an invalid who, fearing the sight of others, cannot even receive a guest.[157] The heart will constantly palpitate like the mortar at a water mill and a grave illness that would perplex even the legendary physicians of old will thus come about. As someone who taught his students to sit like a withered tree, trapped in their *ālaya*-consciousness, Hakuin mentions Shishuang and his teachings (cited above) to the two abbesses.[158] If, he adds, one fails to penetrate the *nantō watō* of Nanquan, Sushan, Qianfeng, Wuzu, Yanguan's 鹽官 (d. 842) rhinoceros fan,[159] and Cuiyan's 翠岩 (d.u.) eyebrows[160] a malady of the mind (*shinshitsu* 心疾) will eventually occur.[161]

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[156] 名ハ禪門ニ在ツテ、内ニハ専ラ稱名念佛シテ、浄刹ノ往生ヲ願ウ (Yoshizawa 1999b: 121).

[157] 次第ニ倦ミ體疲レテ、疝癖塊痛、五積六聚、多少乃病苦ヲ一身ニアツメ載タル低ノ、生レモ付カヌ重病ノ癈人ニナリテ、人ヲ見ル時ハ恐レスクミテ應對モ亦タスル事能ワズ (Yoshizawa 1999b: 127-128).

[158] Yoshizawa 1999b: 130-131.

[159] This is case ninety-one of the *Blue Cliff Record*; see T48.2003.215b26-216b13.

[160] This is case eight of the *Blue Cliff Record*; see T48.2003.148a19-149a13.

[161] Yoshizawa 1999b: 136.

As one might expect, Hakuin bolsters his argument with what by now seems an almost customary reference to his own struggles with the malady of meditation. Forty years ago, when he was still young, Hakuin admits that he had regrettably involved himself with the brigands of silent illumination.[162] This, he recalls, had caused him great distress for over three years. Without making any progress, he would just sit silently in a dark room, but soon both legs began to feel as if they were immersed in ice and snow, there was a ringing in the ears as if walking between mountain streams, fear accompanied every action, his eyes were always full of tears, and there was pain in the chest that moved up and down like a ball. So he picked up his belongings and set off on a pilgrimage to consult others about his condition. No one, it seems, had been able to offer any concrete advice. Hakuin did finally receive a piece of advice from an old worthy who told him to find a deep spot in the mountains untouched by man and wither away with the grass and trees. Hakuin took this advice to heart and vowed to fight heresy and prevent others from suffering the malady of meditation. That is, until he received a method for uprooting the malady of meditation from a wise teacher, which, no doubt, refers to Hakuyū.

Having thus recounted his own experience, Hakuin goes on to speculate on the illness (*gofurei*) of the two abbesses. Not surprisingly, he suspects that the malady of meditation may have something to do with their present state.[163] His advice for the two abbesses is rather simple: continue your meditative-work in the midst of activity. On a more practical note, he suggests, among other things, cleaning (*sōji gongyō* 掃地勤行).[164] Moving one's body and participating in manual labor (*dōyō samu* 動揺作務), he reminds them, is a good way to keep the mind and body healthy and secure long life. It is, he claims, an excellent way of nourishing life. Hakuin did not, therefore, hesitate to admonish them for leaving such work to their attendants and servants.[165] Nor did he hesitate to remind

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[162] The following is based on Yoshizawa 1999b: 232-235.

[163] Yoshizawa 1999b: 235-236.

[164] Yoshizawa 1999b: 169.

them of the virtue of abandoning fame, fortune, and the luxuries of life.[166] As the perfect embodiment of the determination that one must have to pursue the Way, Hakuin also reminds them of the story of the nun Eshun 慧春 (d.u.) who scorched her beautiful face to study with Zen master Bassui Tokushō 抜隊得勝 (1327-1387).[167] This, however, does not seem to be the main point that he wished to convey. In fact, he saves the most important piece of advice for last. Towards the very end of his letter, Hakuin tells the abbesses that the best way to fight the malady of mediation is to investigate *nantō watō*, and again he lists the critical phrases of Daitō, Kanzan, Qianfeng, Wuzu, Yanguan, and Cuiyan.

Let us briefly review what we have examined so far. First, we have seen that Hakuin had devoted what appears to be the most active phase of his prolific career to the critique of silent illumination (the illness) and to the promotion of both inner contemplation and the study of what he calls *nantō watō* (the remedy). Although Hakuin had clearly familiarized himself with the earlier literature on silent illumination, his concerns, as we have seen, seem to have been far more focused and directed almost exclusively at late Ming Chan. Most important in this respect are the two notable figures, Zhuhong and Yongjue, who were often singled out by Hakuin as representatives of the degenerate state of Chan/Zen in the late Ming. The question that we must now ask ourselves is, *why*? While there is no denying that Hakuin had held late Ming Chan in great contempt, upon closer examination one finds, I argue, that this seemingly straightforward attack on late Ming Chan belies the complicated and, at times, confused attitude that Hakuin maintained towards the new developments on the Chinese continent.[168] The *Oradegama* is a good case in point.

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[165] Yoshizawa 1999b: 169.

[166] Yoshizawa 1999b: 173, 177.

[167] Yoshizawa 1999b: 188-189. As Yoshizawa points out, Hakuin seems to have confused Eshun for the Ōbaku nun Ryōnen 了然 (1646-1711) or the fictional figure Rian-ni 理庵尼; Yoshizawa 1999b: 261. As he also points out, no extant hagiography of Eshun mentions Bassui; Yoshizawa 1999b: 261-262. For more on Eshun, see Bodiford 1993: 205; see also Ruch 2002

[168] This ambivalence is also apparent in Tōrei as well. Citing the profound impact that Zhuhong's *Changuan cejin* had on his teacher Hakuin, Tōrei had this text republished in 1762. But, curiously,

In a letter to a sick monk included in the *Oradegama* Hakuin, for instance, praises the virtues of practicing meditation while one is ill. As before, Hakuin borrows the mouth of Shōju to admonish those who make exaggerated claims about their condition, which they then use as an excuse for slacking off in their study of the Way.[169] Hakuin even insists that "for meditative-work and study of the Way nothing is better than practice while one is ill."[170] As usual, Hakuin attempts to drive his message home by citing (or fabricating) yet another tale. What Hakuin prepared for the unnamed sick monk was the tale of another monk who suffered from a serious tumor on his back. This monk, according to Hakuin, considered his debilitating condition an honorable, good teacher (*tattoki zenchishiki naruzoya* 貴キ善知識ナルゾヤ).[171] As the monk himself purportedly explains,

> Before I became ill I thought that nothing was lacking in my enlightenment, that I had reached a stage where my practice wanted for nothing. Discarding this practice, I brazenly accepted offerings and behaved in a rude and haughty manner. Then unexpectedly, I sank into this severe illness. The five limbs of my body felt as though they were boiling, my bones and sinews as if they were falling apart. I was on the verge of losing consciousness and it seemed as though there were an impediment in my heart [*ki tōku kokoro husagarite* 氣遠ク塞ガリテ]. . . . Feeling that my life could in no way be saved, I set about practicing true meditative-work.[172]

in its postface Tōrei adds a virulent critique of Zhuhong (T48.2024.1109a20-c13); noted in Mohr 2000: 270 n. 50. Speaking of other aspects of Hakuin's career, T. Griffith Foulk has also noted a similar ambivalence; see Foulk 2006: 154.

[169] Yoshizawa 2001a: 313; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 74.

[170] 大凡辨道工夫ノ為ニハ、病中程ド能キ事ハ此レ有ルベカラズ (Yoshizawa 2001a: 315); trans. Yampolsky 1971: 75 (with minor changes).

[171] Yoshizawa 2001a: 319; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 77.

[172] Yoshizawa 2001a: 320; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 77 (with some minor changes).

The monk goes on to state that he eventually had an awakening and, naturally, urges others to practice true meditative-work (*shōnen kufū* 正念工夫) as well. To bolster his case, Hakuin also relays the story of a Shingon mountain ascetic who, while suffering from cold damage (*shōkan* 傷寒), told his mockers that the sounds of his groans are sounds of the wondrous dharma.[173] Hakuin does not, however, limit his discussion to examples from Japan alone.

In addition to these examples from his homeland Hakuin notes that "in other countries there were also a good number of men who made progress in the Way by virtue of their illnesses [like] Zhuhong's scalding [his leg] and Mengshan's dysentery."[174] What cannot but strike us as odd or astonishing about Hakuin's reference to these two examples from China is not only the uncharacteristic praise of Zhuhong that occurs therein but also the fact that they reveal Hakuin's indebtedness to the sources from which they were taken, namely the *Zhuchuang suibi* and *Changuan cejin*.[175] Hakuin's indebtedness to Zhuhong's work is also evident in his frequent references to the story of Dahui's experience of eighteen moments of "great awakenings" (*dawu* 大悟) and countless number of "small awakenings" (*xiaowu* 小悟). Like the story of Zhuhong scalding his leg, Dahui's story was most likely taken from Zhuhong's *Zhuchuang suibi*.[176]

No work, however, seems to have exerted more influence on Hakuin than the *Changuan cejin*. As Hakuin himself was wont to admit, his "fortuitous" discovery of the *Changuan cejin* in a pile of books from the library of his old teacher Baō Sōchiku 馬翁宗竹 (1629-1711) during their annual airing (*saisho* 曬書) in 1704 was what prevented him from

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[173] Yoshizawa 2001a: 323; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 78.

[174] Yoshizawa 2001a: 326; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 79 (with some minor changes).

[175] Mengshan's story (T48.2024.1099a29-c26; Fujiyoshi 1970: 50-60) was discussed in chapter three of this study. (cf. Cleary 1992: 38-43). According to his own account in the *Zhuchuang suibi*, Zhuhong slipped while taking a bath and scalded his leg; see Lianchi dashi 2004: 38-40.

[176] See Lianchi dashi 2004: 151. This story is mentioned in the *Itsumadegusa* (HOZ 1: 193-194 and 226); Tōrei's *Shūmon mujintōron* 宗門無盡燈論 (T81.2575.587c2); and the *Kaisan Reigen oshō hōgo zatsushū* 開山靈玄和尚法語雜集 (HOZ 8: 53); noted in Mohr 2000: 251.

falling into irreparable despair and spurred him towards the Way.[177] It also seems to be the case that the letters exchanged between Nabeshima and Hakuin regarding the comparison of *nenbutsu* and Zhaozhou's "no" were largely an extension of similar comparisons that had been made earlier in the *Changuan cejin* and other works by Zhuhong.[178] It also seems to be no coincidence that the notion of "carrying out meditative-work in the midst of illness" (*bing zhong zuo gongfu* 病中做工夫) is featured prominently in these writings.[179] When speaking of meditative-work in the midst of illness, Zhuhong states, for instance, that he used to cite various sources to speak of the body as being empty and inconsequential to awakening. But after he scalded his leg while taking a bath on new years day, Zhuhong admits quite frankly that he had an opportunity to reflect upon this matter more carefully and had thus come to realize the futility of his prior views of the body. A *samādhi* of words (*koutou sanmei* 口頭三昧),[180] he tells his reader, is just another way of tricking yourself. When one is in such pain what, indeed, he asks,

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[177] Katō 1985: 74-75.

[178] See Fujiyoshi 1970: 26. In his *Changuan cejin*, Zhuhong cites a spurious sermon attributed to Huangbo and claims that this sermon "is the beginning of observing the critical phrase" 看話頭之始也 (Fujimori 1970: 26). As Fujiyoshi Jikai points out, the sermon itself only appears in the Ming edition of Huangbo's *Wanling lu*; Fujiyoshi 1970: 28. Zhuhong also remarks that one need not insist on "no." One could also use "the ten thousand dharmas [return to the one]" (*wanfa [guiyi]* 萬法[歸一]), "Mt. Sumeru" (*xiumishan* 須彌山), and *nianfo* (J. *nenbutsu*). It should also be pointed out that Zhuhong's point is quite similar to Hakuin's. According to Zhuhong, "that which is doubted [in these critical phrases] may differ, but the awakening remains the same" 所疑不同、悟則無二 (Fujiyoshi 1970: 26). See also the sermon by Tianru Weize 天如惟則 (d. 1354) quoted in the *Changuan cejin*; see Fujiyoshi 1970: 96-100. Weize specifically states that the point of chanting Amitābha's name is to see into one's own nature. In another comment Zhuhong also recommends using *nianfo* as a koan ("Who is the one chanting the name of the buddha"); see Fujiyoshi 1970: 101. For the *nianfo* as koan, see Yü 1981: 53-63.

[179] These words appear in the entry for Mengshan (see Chapter Three, p. 199) and the eminent Yuan monk Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263-1323); for the latter, see Fujiyoshi 1970: 94; cf. Cleary 1992: 59. Ironically, perhaps, in the passage in question Zhongmeng encourages students who wish to continue their meditative-work in the midst of illness to make their minds into wood or stone and thoughts into dead ashes. Zhuhong also uses these words to refer to his own experience in his *Zhuchuang suibi*; see Lianchi dashi 2004: 39.

[180] Zhuhong here specifically mentions "dry wisdom" (*ganhui* 乾慧; S. *śuklavidarśanā[bhūmi]*), that is, wisdom devoid of the power of absorption (*dingli* 定力) as an example of a "*samādhi* of words."

does it mean to say that one can leave the body (*yishen* 遺身) or that the body is originally empty and non-existent (*benkong feiyou* 本空非有)?[181] As he also states elsewhere in the *Zhuchuang suibi*, only after an illness seizes the body do we come to realize that the four elements are not real and human life is impermanent; only then, he says, do we have the opportunity to reflect upon our mistakes and make further advancement in our awakening.[182] Zhuhong even ensures his reader that he had himself succumbed to a grave illness on three different occasions and each time he was brought to reflect upon his mistakes and encouraged to move forward in his pursuit of the Way.

For Zhuhong, the body thus plays an important role in the battle against what he sardonically calls the *samādhi* of words. But what exactly, we may ask, is Zhuhong attempting to do when he pits the body against an ersatz *samādhi* or attainment that consists of a simple understanding of a few lines from scripture or the ability to compose verse and prose commentaries on cases of old?[183] In speaking of the need to abandon the *samādhi* of words and pursue "true awakening" (*shiwu* 實悟) Zhuhong himself turns to—who else?—Dahui: "If you have attained true awakening but teachers claim that this is not the case the repercussions [of their actions] will not be inconsequential."[184] Dahui is, of course, referring to the teachers of silent illumination who deny true awakening and urge their students to rest and relax like dirt, trees, tiles, and rocks instead.[185] Zhuhong's concerns, however, seems to have had less to do with the presence of heretical teachers than with the lack of adequate teachers in general.[186] In the absence of Chan masters who

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[181] Lianchi dashi 2004: 39. Here, Zhuhong is questioning specific claims made by Pilindavatsa, Mazu, Yongjue, and Sengzhao whom he cites by name.

[182] 唯病苦逼身、始知四大非實、人命無常、則悔悟之一機而修進之一助也; Lianchi dashi 2004: 50.

[183] Cf. Lianchi dashi 2004: 132.

[184] 若爾實有悟處、師家故言不是、亦招因果不小 (T47.1998A.869b5-6; cited in Lianchi dashi 2004: 9).

[185] T47.1998A.867b9-14.

could properly guide the study of the cases of old Zhuhong, it seems, had feared that Chan learning would amount to nothing but a superficial knowledge of these cases and, worse still, facile imitations of the dialogues that anyone with half a wit could acquire from recorded sayings of the past.[187] What Zhuhong feared, in other words, was less heresy than misplaced pride and arrogance (*zengshangman* 增上慢; S. *abhimāna*).[188] If the references to torpor, excitation, dysentery, illness, pain, scalding one's leg, stabbing oneself in the thighs with a mallet, and banging one's head against a pillar to fight sleep is any indication, Zhuhong seems to have clearly regarded the body as the primary battleground on which the fight against this misplaced pride was to take place.

The care with which Hakuin read these writings by Zhuhong and the degree to which he went to deny them, I believe, is quite telling of the profound impact that these writings had on Hakuin. In spite of his explicit criticisms of Zhuhong and the shadow that he cast over late Ming Chan, Hakuin seems to be have remained rather ambivalent about the influence that this "new" and, in his opinion, perverted Chan from the continent exerted on his own Zen tradition in Japan. But before I investigate this ambivalence in Hakuin's writings any further, let us first take a brief look at some specific developments that had occurred during the late Ming under the influence of Zhuhong and then assess the indelible mark that these developments left on the Zen communities of early modern Japan.

A number of important studies have, in fact, already moved in this direction.[189] These studies have shown that the concerted effort that was made by the various Buddhist

[186] Zhuhong himself laments the lack of admirable Chan masters since the early Ming; for instance, see Lianchi dashi 2004: 32. On the "degenerate" state of Chan during the late Ming; see Yü 1981: 31-36.

[187] On Zhuhong's criticism of imitation, see Lianchi dashi 2004: 99.

[188] See Zhuhong's preface to the *Changuan cejin*; see Fujiyoshi 1970: 19.

[189] For instance, see Yanagida and Katō 1979; Furuta 1981; Takenuki 1989; Jaffe 1991; Tamamura 1991; Mohr 1994a; Mohr 1994b; Kagamishima 1995; Mohr 1997; Mohr 1999; Mohr 2000; Baroni 2000; Riggs 2002; Wu 2002; Foulk 2005; and Baskind 2006. This, by no means, is meant to be an exhaustive list. Here I have simply cited a few representative pieces.

sects during the Edo period to restore (*fukku* 復古) and revitalize (*fukkō* 復興), say, the use of precepts, koans, and face-to-face transmission was catalyzed by the arrival of a host of émigré Chan monks from China. If it is true that these émigré monks exerted a considerable amount of influence on the way in which monks and nuns of Edo Japan hoped to refashion their own traditions—and indeed they did—it goes without saying that a firm grasp of the developments in Buddhism during the late Ming is necessary for one to better understand the effect that these developments had on its neighboring country. As an illustrative case of the changes that occurred during the late Ming under the influence of Zhuhong, I have decided to focus on one figure in particular and that is the monk Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 (1573-1635). This choice is intentional. Although he is seldom mentioned in previous studies of late Ming Buddhism, Hanyue's account of his illness and his role in the reorganization and spread of precept rites in the late Ming Chan warrant further attention.[190] And since Hanyue's concerns about precepts stems in large part from the uncertainties regarding ordinations in the late Ming, a few words on the state of ordinations during this period seems to be in order.

Hanyue Fazang

As a turning point in the history of Buddhism during the Ming dynasty, scholars point to the year 1451 when the Ming government sanctioned the sale of tonsure certificates (*dutie* 度牒) to raise funds for famine relief in Sichuan.[191] As one fiscal crisis followed another, the practice of selling tonsure certificates continued for several decades. In 1484, the government even went so far as to sell 10,000 blank tonsure certificates (*kongming dudie* 空名度牒) to relieve yet another famine and not long after that the number of clerics is said

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[190] Recently Hasebe Yūkei, Lian Ruizhi, and Jiang Wu have given Hanyue due attention. I am greatly indebted to their work.

[191] For a reference to the Jingtai 景泰 era (1450-1456) as a "turning point" in the history of Ming Buddhism, see Yü 1981: 160. For the following discussion, see also Yü 1998: 895 and Chen 1964: 435. For the sale of tonsure certificates in the Song, see Yi Fa 2002: 75-78.

to have reached a whopping 370,000.[192] Such numbers, if they are true, would have been, technically speaking,[193] unimaginable in the early Ming when the handing out of certificates were decreed to occur only once every three years—a rule that was suspended in 1451—and the number of certificates were restricted to no more than twenty per county (*xian* 県), thirty per district (*zhou* 州), and forty per prefecture (*fu* 府).[194] Not to mention the fact that the sale of certificates had been forbidden by the emperor as early as 1372.[195] That same year a measure to compile an official register of monks known as the comprehensive supervision registers (*zhouzhice* 周知冊) had also been decreed, but, as Chünfang Yü points out, "[b]y the middle of the dynasty, with the sale of blank certificates becoming more common, no one mentioned the registers anymore."[196] Consequently, the responsibility and right of ordination fell squarely upon the shoulders of the leaders of the Buddhist community.

In the ninth month of the forty-fifth year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1566), the Ming government banned the use of ordination platforms altogether.[197] Earlier that year, the famed monk Yunqi Zhuhong had been fortunate enough to receive the full set of 250 precepts for *bhikṣu* ordination along with the bodhisattva precepts on the ordination platform at Zhaoqing si 昭慶寺 in Hangzhou.[198] Hanyue, however, was not as fortunate as

[192] Yü 1981: 161.

[193] Private ordinations continued throughout the Ming and the government attempted, in vain, on several occasions to prevent this from happening; see Yü 1981: 159; and also Cleary 1984: 32.

[194] Yü 1998: 895. To what extent these ordinances were followed is unclear and it seems to be the case that it was often ignored; see also Cleary 1984: 29-37 passim.

[195] Yü 1981: 157.

[196] Yü 1998: 896.

[197] *Ming shizong shilu* 明世宗實錄, Shizong forty-fifth year, ninth month, fascicle 562; cited in Hasebe 1993: 143. See also the record in *Gujin tushu jicheng shijiao bu huikao* 古今圖書集成釋教部彙考; ZZ133.410b7-8.

[198] For a brief but very useful summary of the history of the ordination platform at Zhaoqing si, see Hasebe 1993: 141-1423. See also Wu 2002: 46. According to Hasebe, the monastery was devastated by a fire that broke out in 1569. Restorations began in 1572 and three years later an

Zhuhong. He had visited Zhuhong twice (1599 and 1604) in the hopes of receiving the full *bhikṣu* precepts, but Zhuhong refused on both occasions citing the official ban on ordination platforms.[199] What Hanyue received from Zhuhong instead, we are told, were the *śrāmaṇera* or novice precepts (*xicijie* 息慈戒), which he presumably had already received when he was tonsured in 1591.[200] Even this would not have been possible had it not been for the scholar Xue Fujiao 薛敷教 (*jinshi* 1589) who procured a tonsure certificate on Hanyue's behalf in 1590.[201] Probably due to the ban on full ordination, however, no mention is made of an ordination certificate (*jiedie* 度牒) in Hanyue's biography. A disappointing trip though it must have been, Hanyue did seem to find consolation in the fact that he had obtained a copy of the *Gaofeng dashi yulu* 高峰大師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Great Master Gaofeng) that Zhuhong had just reissued on Mt. Yunqi.[202]

Several years later in 1605, Hanyue had what appears to be his first awakening while reading the *Guzunsu yulu*, after which he apparently lit a stick of incense on his arm and vowed to devote his life to spreading the patriarchs' Way.[203] In 1609, the thirty-six

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even larger ordination platform was constructed. In 1605, this new ordination platform was renamed Wanshou jietan 萬壽戒壇 under imperial decree; see Hasebe 1993: 143.

[199] See the *Sanfeng heshang nianpu* 三峰和尚年譜 (Chronological Biography of Sanfeng), ages 29 and 32, in Hongchu 1993: 178. The *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng* was compiled by his disciple Hongchu 宏储 (1605-1672) of Yunan si 雲岳寺 on Mt. Huqiu (in Jiangsu) and included as part of his recorded sayings, *Sanfeng Zang heshang yulu* 三峰藏和尚語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Venerable Sanfeng Zang). The chronological biography was also reproduced more recently in Xu 1994: 85-104. As we learn in the *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, Hongchu was tonsured at Yunan si in 1628; Xu 1994: 98.

[200] For the ordination customs established by Zhuhong for his temple Yunqi si 雲棲寺, see Yü 1981: 196-199. See also Wu 2002: 45. For Hanyue's tonsure (*dedu* 得度), see the *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 19, in Hongchu 1993: 176.

[201] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 18, in Hongchu 1993: 176. It was necessary for one to have the certificate in hand before shaving his or her head and receiving tonsure.

[202] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 29, in Hongchu 1993: 178. For the *Gaofeng dashi yulu*, see ZZ122.653a1-701b14.

[203] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 33, in Hongchu 1993: 178-179.

year old Hanyue visited Guxin Ruqing 古心如磬 (1541-1615) at the grand monastery Linggu si 靈谷寺 in Jinling and finally received the full set of precepts.[204] The following year he restored a dilapidated temple on Sanfeng 三峰 peak of Mt. Yu 虞 (in present day Jiangsu), which he later named Qingliang yuan 清涼院 in 1614,[205] and began instructing students. According to his chronological biography, around this time Hanyue also began to show deep interest in Linji's teachings, particularly his three mysteries, while residing at Qingliang yuan. During an intense hundred-day retreat that he undertook in 1612, Hanyue ostensibly attained numerous forms of *samādhi* and penetrated the koans of Zhaozhou and Yunmen after spitting out a ball of phlegm, falling into a deep slumber, waking up five days later, and hearing the sound of a bamboo snap outside his window.[206] In 1614, Hanyue acquired a copy of Huihong's *Linji zongzhi*. Upon reading Huihong's work, it was, says Hanyue, "as if [I] had received face-to-face transmission [from Huihong] five hundred years ago."[207]

A more elaborate account of Hanyue's "transmission" from Huihong is offered in the *Tianshou Sheng'en Zang chanshi xingzhuang* 天壽聖恩藏禪師行狀 (Account of Conduct of Chan Master [Fa]Zang of Tianshou Sheng'en [si]; hereafter *Account of Hanyue's Conduct*) composed by his disciple Tanji Hongren 潭吉宏忍 (1599-1638). According to Tanji's account, while investigating Linji's three mysteries and three essentials Hanyue had noticed a disturbance in his mind and an abscess began to grow on his back.[208] The abscess later burst open by itself and as the pus oozed and blood began to

[204] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 37, in Hongchu 1993: 179. See also Hasebe 1993: 140, 227. Hasebe thus suspects that ordinations resumed sometime between 1605 and 1609; Hasebe 1993: 168: n. 3. He also notes that the ordination platform at Longxing si 龍興寺 in Hangzhou (established in 931) resumed operation under imperial sanction in 1613.

[205] In 1699, Hanyue's temple received an official plaque bearing the name Qingliang chansi.

[206] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 40, in Hongchu 1993: 180. See also Wu 2002: 46.

[207] 如對面親授于五白年前 (*Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 42, in Hongchu 1993: 180).

[208] The *Tianshou Sheng'en Zang chanshi xingzhuang* is included in the local monastic gazetteer *Dengwei Sheng'en si zhi* 鄧尉聖恩寺志 compiled by Zhou Yongnian 周永年 (1582-1674) in 1644.

congeal Hanyue ostensibly had another awakening.[209] That moment Hanyue is known to have avowed that he would walk on thorns for ten years if only he could have a teacher like Fenyang (who, we may recall, was praised in the *Linji zongshi*).[210] As tears fell from his eyes, Hanyue also came to fully grasp the meaning of Linji's challenge regarding the two monks simultaneously giving out a shout, and it was only then that Hanyue, we are told, felt as if his realization had finally tallied with Huihong's *Linji zongzhi* and also as if he had received face-to-face transmission from Huihong five hundred years ago.[211] He was apparently "quite satisfied with the mind that had been sealed by Gaofeng and the dharma that had been sealed by Juefan,"[212] so he later sealed himself in a room and composed a treatise entitled the *Wuzong yuan* 五宗原 (The Origin of the Five Schools) to articulate this realization.[213]

Thereafter, Hanyue's reputation as a Chan master grew rapidly. He is, for instance, recorded as having instructed local gentry on koans such as Shoushan's bamboo

Zhou took material from the local gazetteer Dengwei zhi 鄧尉志 and expanded upon it. A 1930 reprint of the Zhou's text published at Sheng'en si can be found in *Fosi*, vol. 44: 113-130; cf. Brook 2002: 60 (B57). I shall have more to say on this text later. For more on the production of monastic gazetteers as important means of local literati patronage, see Brook 1993: 178-181.The *Sanfeng Zang heshang xingzhuang* 三峰藏和尚行狀 (Account of Conduct of Venerable Sanfeng [Fa]zang), also attributed to Tanji, is identical to the *Tianshou Sheng'en Zang chanshi xingzhuang*. For the *Sanfeng Zang heshang xingzhuang*, see *Sanfeng Qingliang chansi zhi* 三峰清涼禪寺志 edited by Wang Yi 王伊 (d.u.) in *Fosi*, vol. 40: 393-400; see also Brook 2002: 68 (B102). Since Zhou's edition is older than the *Sanfeng Qingliang chansi zhi*, which was compiled in 1938 (preface dated 1892), I shall primarily rely on the account of conduct recorded in the former for my discussion of Tanji's (re)construction of Hanyue's career.

209 *Fosi*, vol. 44: 116.

210 *Fosi*, vol. 44: 116.

211 *Fosi*, vol. 44: 116. In one of his writings, Hanyue specifically mentions that he learned of Linji's story of the two monks simultaneously giving out a shout from Huihong's works, the *Linji zongzhi* and the *Zhizheng zhuan* 智證傳 (Tales of Bearing Witness to Wisdom); see ZZ114.205a1-2. For the reference in the *Zhizheng zhuan*, see ZZ111.214a14.

212 欣然高峰為印心覺範為印法 (*Fosi*, vol. 44: 116-117).

213 *Fosi*, vol. 44: 117. The *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng* and other sources record this as having occurred in 1625 (more on this later).

stick in 1616.[214] Most notable, perhaps, among his local patrons was the eminent scholar Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582～1664), who helped Hanyue invite the renowned monk Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546-1623) to Mt. Yu in 1617. Qian and Hanyue had extended this invitation to Hanshan so as to have him administer a set of precepts known as the *xindi jie* 心地戒 (mind ground precepts) or bodhisattva precepts to Hanyue's disciples Fanyi Hongzhi 梵伊宏致 (1598-1629),[215] Dingmu Hongche 頂目宏徹 (1588-1648),[216] Dashu Hongzheng 大樹宏證 (1588-1646),[217] and others on Mt. Yu.[218] Although he had just administered the full precepts at Jingci si (Xutang's old temple), Hanshan politely refused Qian and Hanyue's request by insisting on serving, instead, as the *jiemoshi* 羯磨師 (ritual master) and having Hanyue serve as *jiaoshou benshi* 教授本師 (instructions master).[219] What is particularly noteworthy about Hanshan's response is that (1) he is willing to assign Hanyue, who never received the precepts, to the role of *jiaoshou benshi* and (2) he does not name or mention the *jieshi* 戒師 or precepts master. As Hasebe Yūkei points out, this seems to imply that a private ordination platform had not been established on Mt. Yu.[220] Whatever Hanyue may have thought of Hanshan's response, bestowing his disciples with the bodhisattva precepts seems to have served as the perfect

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[214] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 44, in Hongchu 1993: 181.

[215] Fanyi was apparently Hanyue's first disciple. He succeeded Hanyue as abbot of Qingliang si in 1627, but died two years later; see *Fosi*, vol. 39: 82 and *Fosi*, vol. 40: 100-101.

[216] Dingmu became abbot of Qingliang si in 1630; see *Fosi*, vol. 39: 82 and *Fosi*, vol. 40: 101-102.

[217] Dashu succeeded Dingmu as abbot of Qingliang si in 1632; see *Fosi*, vol. 39: 82.

[218] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 45, in Hongchu 1993: 182. In one source the precepts administered by Hanshan and Hanyue is specifically referred to as the bodhisattva precepts; see *Fosi*, vol 40: 102. For Fanyi, see also *Fosi*, vol. 40: 379-380. For Dashu, see *Fosi*, vol. 40: 383. For Dingmu, see *Fosi*, vol. 40: 381-382.

[219] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 45, in Hongchu 1993: 182. See also the *Hanshan laoren zixu nianpu shilu* 憨山老人自序年譜實錄 (Veritable Record of the Chronological Biography Prefaced by Old Hanshan Himself), age 72; Xu 1994: 34.

[220] Hasebe 1993: 228.

occasion for establishing an ordination structure on Mt. Yu, which Hanyue dubbed the Vinaya hall or Bini tang 毘尼堂.[221]

That same year (1617) Hanhui 寒灰 (d.u.) and Wengu 聞谷 (1566-1636), disciples of the renowned monk Zibo Zhenke 紫柏真可 (1543-1603), supposedly invited Hanyue to take their late master's place as the abbot of their monastery on Mt. Jing.[222] To keep a prior engagement that he had made with Hanshan, Hanyue, however, seems to have headed for Mt. Lu instead. Hanyue's reputation only continued to grow after he returned from his visit to Mt. Lu in 1618.[223] Those eager to learn from Hanyue, we are told, had soon gathered from all four directions and requested a formal sermon (*tichang* 提唱) from the master of Mt. Yu, but Hanyue declined this request and supposedly offered this self-deprecating statement: "ever since the primordial buddha to be without a master has not been allowed."[224] Learning of what Hanyue had said, Hanhui seems to have attempted to lure Hanyue disciples like Yimo Hongcheng 一默宏成 (d. 1641) to Mt. Jing and have them inherit Zibo's lineage, but to no avail.[225] In 1619, Hanshan had similarly attempted to have Hanyue installed as abbot of his temple Guizong si on Mt. Lu.[226] But these plans to attract Hanyue away from Mt. Yu did not succeed largely, we are told, on

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[221] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 45, in Hongchu 1993: 182. As Hasebe also notes, the Songyan tang 松演堂 to the left of the Buddha hall was also known as the female precepts hall (*nüjie tang* 女戒堂); Hasebe 1993: 228. This is also noted in the *Sanfeng Qingliang chansi zhi*; see *Fosi*, vol 40: 44.

[222] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 45, in Hongchu 1993: 182. For more on Zibo, see Cleary 1984.

[223] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 46, in Hongchu 1993: 182.

[224] 威音以後不許無師 (*Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 46, in Hongchu 1993: 182).

[225] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 46, in Hongchu 1993: 182. Yimo does seem to have paid a visit to Hanhui; see *Fosi*, vol. 40: 119. But the visit seems to have only strengthened his resolve to attain awakening under Sanfeng.

[226] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 47, in Hongchu 1993: 183. Lian Ruizhi offers some evidence to support to the claim that Hanyue may have at one point become a disciple of Hanshan; see Lian 1997: 174 n. 24.

account of the efforts of Qian who seems to have been concerned about the effect that Hanyue's departure might have on the area.[227]

In the summer of 1623, Hanyue began administering precepts (*kaijie* 開戒) at the monastery Beichan si 北禪寺 (in present day Jiangsu).[228] There he composed two texts, the *Hongjie fayi* 弘戒法儀 (Manual for Conferring Universal Precepts) and *Fanwang yixian* 梵網一線 (Single Thread of the *Fanwang* [*Sūtra*]).[229] Both manuals were presumably based on the rites that he actually performed at Beichan si. Tanji's *Account of Hanyue's Conduct* also tells us that the assembly at Beichan si later requested Hanyue to serve as abbot (*kaifa* 開法), but Hanyue (again?) refused on the grounds that "ever since the primordial buddha self enlightenment without a master has not been allowed."[230] In 1624, Hanyue, now fifty-one, learned of Miyun Yuanwu's 密雲圓悟 (1566-1642) installment as abbot (*kaitang*) at the nearby temple Guanghui si 廣慧寺 on Mt. Jinsu 金粟 and paid him a visit.[231] According to the *Account of Hanyue's Conduct*, Miyun is known to have said: "Han[yue]'s awakening is genuine and he has established himself before me. When he bends his body [i.e., humbles himself] and comes here it is only for the sake of the certificate of Linji."[232] Indeed, upon his arrival Hanyue wasted no time in asking Miyun to

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[227] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 47, in Hongchu 1993: 183. See Lian 1997: 174-175. For the issue of why local gentry supported monasteries, see Brook 1993: 185-223.

[228] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 51, in Hongchu 1993: 185.

[229] For the *Hongjie fayi*, see ZZ106.968a1-1046b11.

[230] 威音以後不許無師自任 (*Fosi*, vol. 44: 117). Note that this line is slightly different from the almost identical reference in the *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng* wherein there was no reference to the heresy of self-enlightenment (*ziren* 自任).

[231] *Fosi*, vol. 44: 118. According the *Hongjue Ji chanshi beiyou ji* 弘覺忞禪師北遊集 (Northern Wanderings Collection of Chan Master Hongjue Ji) by Miyun's dharma heir Muchen Daoji 木陳道忞 (1596-1674), Miyun had already read Hanyue's recorded sayings and is said to have made a remark about Hanyue's brilliance, which he compared to that of Wuyi Yuanlai, but Miyun did not fail to add that Hanyue had not received transmission from a teacher; *Jiaxing dazangjing* 嘉興大藏經 26: 175 (cited in Lian 1997: 175 n. 28).

demonstrate the tenet of Linji (Linji *zongzhi*) and Miyun without hesitation, it seems, complied.[233] Miyun is said to have first raised the famous case of Huangbo sticking out his tongue.[234] He used this case to claim that Linji had only used the shout to teach students of Chan. Hanyue then bowed and as he stood up gave out a shout. Miyun praised the shout and presented another case.[235] However, when Miyun used the second case to test Hanyue the latter is said to have left the hall without a single reply. If the chronological biography is to be trusted, the next day Miyun appointed Hanyue his chief seat (*diyizuo* 大一座) and personally handed him a certificate of transmission (*yuanliu* 源流) and a whisk.[236]

Hanyue and Miyun's encounter is remembered differently, however, in the *Account of Hanyue's Conduct* and also in another polemical work that Tanji compiled in 1637 known as the *Wuzong jiu* 五宗救 (Rescuing the Five Schools).[237] Recently, Lian Ruizhi and Jiang Wu have used these and other sources to reconstruct the complicated negotiation process through which Hanyue had come to finally accept the certificate from Miyun. According to Tanji, his master Hanyue had initially refused to accept Miyun's

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[232] 漢公悟處真實、出世先我、所以屈身來此者、為臨濟源流耳 (*Fosi*, vol. 44: 118). As Lian Ruizhi points out, this same account is found in Hanyue's memorial inscription, *Suzhou Sanfeng Hanyue Zan shi taming* 蘇州三峰漢月藏師塔銘; see Lin 1997: 176. See also Hasebe 1993: 349.

[233] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 52, in Hongchu 1993: 185. The exchange between Hanyue and Miyun that follows was also recorded in the *Wuzong jiu* 五宗救 (Rescuing the Five Schools), a polemical treatise compiled by Hanyue's disciple Tanji Hongren in 1637. See also the *Account of Hanyue's Conduct* (*Fosi*, vol. 44: 118-119).

[234] T51.2076.249c14-17.

[235] The case begins with the famous question, "when the moon is shining in the sky, what's it like?" 朗月當空時如何. The case is found in the *Recorded Sayings of Zhaozhou*; ZZ118.326b6. It is also found in the *Recorded Sayings of Caoshan*; T47.1987B.539c8.

[236] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 52, in Xu 1994: 96.

[237] Unfortunately, I have been unable to procure a copy of the *Wuzong jiu*. I have therefore relied on the *Sanfeng Zang heshang xingzhuang* and the citation of the passage from the *Wuzong jiu* in Lian 1997: 176-177. An English translation of the passage in question can be found in Wu 2002: 74-75. The same account is also recorded in the *Zongtong piannian* 宗統編年 (Annals of the Lineages of [Our] Tradition); see ZZ147.462a17-462b15.

certificate on the grounds that indiscriminate shouting and hitting—sardonically referring, no doubt, to Miyun—would bring him to ruins.[238] Hanyue, Tanji tells us, then bid him farewell. Miyun nevertheless attempted once again to entrust the certificate and whisk to Hanyue with the help of a trusted layman, but Hanyue turned down this second offer as well. When Hanyue later found out that his attendant had collected the items without his knowledge, he scolded the attendant and returned the items to Miyun.[239] But Hanyue seems to have had a sudden change of heart. According to Tanji, Hanyue later had his disciple Yimo convey a letter of apology to Miyun, but Miyun seized this as an opportunity to entrust his certificate to Hanyue.[240] Yimo accepted the certificate and jubilantly returned to his master. Given the absence of any further reference to his refusal, we may therefore presume that Hanyue had thus finally become Miyun's dharma heir.

The *Chronological Biography of Hanyue* does not provide us with anything so dramatic, but it does tell us that when Hanyue was asked to serve as abbot of Beichan si a messenger was indeed dispatched to Miyun in 1626.[241] This messenger returned with a hand-written letter by Miyun that testified to the transmission of the certificate and whisk to Hanyue in 1624. But much had transpired in between these two dates. In 1625, Hanyue had, for instance, been asked to serve as eleventh generation abbot of Sheng'en si 聖恩寺 on Mt. Dengwei 鄧尉 (in present day Jiangsu), a temple that was established by Linji Chan master Wanfeng Shiwei 萬峰時蔚 (1303-1381).[242] As Hasebe points out, Hanyue's appointment at Sheng'en si is a particularly important development in Hanyue's career in that it offered him a direct link to Wanfeng, which forged an even more palpable connection to Miyun and, of course, Linji. That same year, Hanyue also composed his

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[238] Fosi, vol. 44: 119.

[239] *Fosi*, vol. 44: 119-120.

[240] *Fosi*, vol. 44: 120; cf. Lian 1997: 179.

[241] *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 54, in Hongchu 1993: 186.

[242] *Fosi*, vol. 44: 122. Curiously, the *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng* records this event under age 53 (1625), but this seems to be a mistake; see in Hongchu 1993: 185.

Wuzong yuan. According to its preface (written three years later in 1628), his four senior disciples had once asked him during a summer retreat at Sheng'en si about "the venerable monks all throughout the country who wish to slaughter the tenet of the five houses and insist on the single transmission of the matter of Śākyamuni raising a flower."[243] Hanyue spared no harsh words for this practice:

> Those with a mandate must carry a military tally. Those with an awakened mind must transmit the seal of the dharma. If the tally doesn't match then it is bogus. If the dharma is not the same then it is heresy. Ever since the primordial buddha there was not single word or dharma that was not an imprint of the tally-seal of the tenet of the five houses. The ancients bore witness to it and accordingly carved out in silence its subtleties and details. Later people associated with [what the ancients carved out] and thus established their schools and guarded against deviations. Those who wish to slaughter the five houses and [claim that there is but] a single transmission, they carve out a tally and forge a seal, but they are simply criminals who do as they please.[244]

For support, Hanyue turned to Dahui. "Those who in ancient times lit incense on their arms and burned their foreheads and secretly transmitted the tenet," Hanyue reminds us, "had been thrown out by Dahui with a single blow."[245] If the dharma is clearly sealed from mind to mind how, Hanyue asks, could it be the kind of dead dharma (*sifazi* 死法子) that one secretly transmits in one's room?[246]

According to Jiang Wu, what Hanyue was intimating here was that Miyun's stubborn attachment to the shout without any reference to the three mysteries did not

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[243] 嘗聞諸方尊宿、欲抹殺五家宗旨、單傳釋迦拈花一事 (ZZ114.201a3-4).

[244] 自威音已來無一言一法非五家宗旨之符印也、昔人證之、遂嘿契其微而不分、後人侣之、故建立其宗以防偽抹殺五家、而欲單傳者、剖符鍇印、自便之渠魁者耳 (ZZ114.201a7-10). See *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 53, in Xu 1994: 96. The *Wuzong yuan* can be found in ZZ114.201a1-212b15 and Hongchu 1993: 113-124.

[245] 昔時有燒香煉頂密傳宗旨者、大慧一榜揭出 (ZZ114.201a12-13).

[246] ZZ114.201a14-15.

faithfully represent authentic transmission of the dharma.[247] While this is exactly how Miyun himself had come to interpret the claims advanced by Hanyue, we must be cautious not to read too much into the *Wuzong yuan*. If Miyun, for instance, was indeed the intended target of his criticisms, it is difficult to explain why Hanyue continued to draw a direct line of transmission between Gaofeng, Wanfeng, Xiaoyan Debao 笑巖德寶 (1512-1581), Huanyou Zhengchuan 幻有正傳 (1549-1614), Miyun, and himself in the *Wuzong yuan*.[248] It is also difficult to explain why Hanyue would perform the rite of offering incense (*nianxiang*) to Miyun and thus officially declare himself the thirty-first generation descendant of Linji when he was installed as abbot of Anyin si 安隱寺 in Hangzhou the following year in 1626.[249] In fact, how are we to make sense of the fact that the very next year (1627) Miyun sent Hanyue a *saṇghāṭi* robe to finalize the deal?[250] Two years later in 1629, Hanyue even invited Miyun to Sheng'en si and had him deliver a sermon as abbot (*kaitang*). Miyun, we are told, accepted this invitation and performed the rite of sweeping the memorial *stūpa* of temple's founding patriarchs.[251] But how, then, should we make sense of the polemical tone of the *Wuzong yuan*? What Hanyue was critiquing in his *Wuzong yuan*, I would argue, is not so much Miyun the individual as the tendency among those who claimed to have inherited, say, the tenet of Linji to disregard textual erudition in favor of "secret transmissions" and a simple and literal imitation of Linji and his disciples. Hanyue's claim to have received transmission from Huihong and his *Linji zongzhi* is a good case in point.

Moreover, as most of the accounts of the exaggerated schism between Hanyue and Miyun come from the writings of Tanji, it is difficult to uncritically accept, as Lian

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247 See Wu 2002: 48.

248 See ZZ114.204a12-17.

249 *Fosi*, vol. 44: 121; cf. *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 54, in Hongchu 1993: 186.

250 *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 55, in Hongchu 1993: 186.

251 *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 57, in Hongchu 1993: 187. See also the *Miyun heshang nianpu* 密雲和尚年譜 (Chronological Biography of Venerable Miyun) in ZHD.80.1741.635a.

and Wu do, that such a schism had actually occurred in the manner in which Tanji describes it. There is, however, no denying that Miyun had later come to see the *Wuzong yuan* as a threat to his claim to Linji orthodoxy. As Lian and Wu point out, Miyun and his cohorts began criticizing Hanyue's *Wuzong yuan* in a series of letters that were composed sometime between 1633 and 1634, almost a decade after the *Wuzong yuan* was composed and a year before Hanyue's death.[252] While it is unclear as to why these criticism began to appear when they did, it should be noted here that the most polemical claims of the *Wuzong yuan* are made not in the body of the text itself but in its preface and other short essays attributed to Hanyue—*Chuan yifa zhu* 傳衣法註 (Commentary on the Transmission of the Robe and Dharma) and *Linzong songyu* 濟宗頌語 (Verse Commentary on the Tenet of [Lin]ji)—which seem to have been appended later to the *Wuzong yuan* proper. When these essays were appended to the *Wuzong yuan* is unclear, but I suspect that they are products of the escalating tensions between Miyun and the disciples of Hanyue. Most noteworthy in this respect is Tanji Hongren. In the name of defending of his teacher, Tanji compiled a polemically charged work entitled the *Wozong jiu* and in response Miyun had his disciples compose the *Pi wangjiu lueshuo* 闢妄救略說 (A Brief Refutation of the Deluded Rescue) in 1638, the year of Tanji's death.[253] There are no further records to indicate that the feud had continued beyond this point in the Ming. Moreover, despite this feud, as Wu rightly notes, Hanyue's disciples continued to revere Miyun as their patriarch.[254] This, notwithstanding, the feud between Hanyue and Miyun

[252] See Lian 1997: 182-183 and Wu 2002: 49. The seven letters from Miyun are also mentioned in the *Chronological Biography of Sanfeng*, age 62, in Xu 1994: 192. See also the letters in the *Sanfeng Qingliang chansi zhi*; see *Fosi*, vol. 40: 335-337.

[253] For the *Pi wangjiu lueshuo*; see ZZ114.219a1-377a8. Miyun's criticism of Hanyue is captured nicely in this statement from the *Pi wangjiu lueshuo*: "The tenet of which Hanyue speaks is not the tenet of which I speak nor is it the tenet of which the former masters speak. Neither is it the tenet of which Linji speaks. Why is this so? I personally heard it from my former teacher. . . . Hanyue has separately formed a type of heresy and calls it the true son of Linji" 漢月之所謂宗旨、非老僧之所謂宗旨、非先師之所謂宗旨、并非臨濟之所謂宗旨、何以故、老僧親聞於先師 . . . 漢月別成一種外道妄稱臨濟真子 (ZZ114.367b7-11).

[254] Wu 2002: 52.

was later picked up by Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 (1678-1735) in a treatise that he personally compiled in 1733 entitled the *Jianmo bianyi lu* 揀魔辨異錄 (Pointing out Demons and Discerning Heresies).[255] Yongzheng's verdict was in favor of Miyun. The emperor thus had Tanji's work burnt and forbid Hanyue's heirs from assuming abbotship of any temples. Why Yongzheng showed so much interest in this feud is a bit of a mystery. Wu believes that it may have something to do with Yongzheng's personal interest in Chan, but I am more inclined to agree with Hasebe's assessment that the emperor's intervention in this "family" affair may have more to do with the threat that the court felt at the rapid growth of Hanyue's Sanfeng faction during the early Qing.[256]

Let me now briefly step back from Hanyue's life for a moment and make some general observations. Two things, as we can see, loom large in the life of Hanyue, namely ordination and dharma transmission. For Hanyue, however, these were not two separate issues but, it seems, one and the same issue. And this was a novel belief to hold. As Hasebe Yūkei claims, the compilation of the *Hongjie fayi* proved to be nothing short of a turning point in the history of late Ming Chan (and, perhaps, Chan as a whole).[257] On what basis does Hasebe make this bold claim? Before the compilation of the *Hongjie fayi*, Chan monks did not have the means or, it seems, the desire to operate an ordination ceremony that they could claim to be their own. Nothing like a manual for constructing ordination platforms and bestowing full precepts, in other words, had ever been attempted by members of the Chan tradition.[258] Furthermore, the biographies of monks and nuns from

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[255] Jiang Wu demonstrates that the text was indeed compiled by the emperor himself; see Wu 2002: 88-108. For the *Jianmo bianyi lu*, see ZZ114.379a1-506a10.

[256] Hasebe 1993: 347.

[257] Hasebe 1993: 155-156.

[258] There are possibly two exceptions, the *Platform Sūtra* and Yongming's *Shou pusajie fa* 受菩薩戒法 (Bodhisattva Ordination Manual), but neither attempted to address the bestowal of full precepts and neither gained wide usage even as a bodhisattva precepts manual. For the *Shou pusajie fa*, see ZZ105.16a1-22b4. See also Getz 2005. Zhuhong had also compiled several texts related to the Vinaya such as the *Jujie bianmeng* 具戒便蒙 (Primer of Precepts for Monks), *Shami lüi yaolue* 沙彌律

the Yuan and the early Ming do not, according to Hasebe, mention full ordinations being performed in Chan temples (i.e., temples that had a continuing line of abbots who came from Chan lineages) nor do we find any mention of full precepts in the "rules of purity" (*qinggui* 清規) that governed these temples.[259] Like Hanyue, ordinands were expected to go to vinaya monasteries (*lüsi* 律寺) that were equipped with an officially sanctioned ordination platform, preferably as famous as that of Zhaoqing si, and receive the full precepts from a renowned vinaya master (*lüshi* 律師).

The situation was no different in the Song. As T. Griffith Foulk points out, "the ordination system was regulated by the state and the Buddhist sangha at large, and there was no such thing as a 'Chan postulant,' 'Chan novice,' or 'Chan monk' in the sense of the monk ordained into the Chan lineage."[260] Consider, for instance, the *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries), the oldest extant *qinggui* to date (1103). Although the *Chanyuan qinggui* does mention the importance of keeping the full

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儀要略 (Essential Rules and Ceremonies for a Novice), *Shamini biqiuni jie luyao*沙彌尼比丘尼戒録要 (Selection of Main Precepts for Female Novices and Nuns), but these texts seem to have been used for studying the precepts and not as manuals for how to administer them. The same goes for Yongjue's work entitled *Lüxue faren* 律學發軔 (Origins of the Study of Discipline); see ZZ106.922a1-967a11. Yonjue's own preface is dated 1646; ZZ106.922a15.

As Hasebe points out, Hanyue's work is also important because there is evidence to suggest that it was put into actual use in small chan temples throughout the country. In 1688, an abbreviated and far more practical version of the *Hongjie fayi* entitled *Chuanshou santan hongjie fayi* 傳授三壇弘戒法儀 (Transmitted Manual for Conferring Universal Precepts on Three Platforms) was published and attributed to Hanyue. This text was checked for errors by Zisu Chaoyuan 子肅超遠 (1631-1689). In the postscript it is stated that this precept text (*jieben* 戒本) is intended to be used as an expedient aid for those in the mountains and fields and not as a manual for major monasteries; ZZ106.20b16-17 (noted in Hasebe 1993: 156).

[259] Hasebe 1993: 145. See also Foulk 1987: 78-87 and Foulk 1993: 161-162. Curiously, I did find the following reference in Gaofeng's account of conduct: those who received the Vinaya and sought benefit numbered in the tens of thousands 受毗尼及請益者數萬人; ZZ122.698a15. The account of conduct also says, "He also thought students today cannot take precepts and discipline themselves. Even if one has subtle words, it is difficult to have faith in a person. [Gaofeng] thereupon established the expedient means of the Vinaya" 復念今時學者不能以戒自律。縱有妙語。亦難取信於人。乃有毗尼方便之設焉; ZZ122.699a10-11. It is, however, unclear as to whether this means that Gaofeng taught about the Vinaya or he actually administered them at his temple. Even if he did there is no evidence of this practice being used by his disciples or acquaintances.

[260] Foulk 1993: 161.

precepts as articulated in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* or *Sifen lü* 四分律 (Four Part Vinaya) and also the bodhisattva precepts from the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Brahma's Net Sūtra) in its first fascicle, no attempt is made to explain the specific procedures for bestowing or receiving (*shouju* 受具) the full 250 *bhikṣu* precepts.[261] The bestowal of precepts, in other words, did not fall within the purview of Chan or its *qinggui*. They did, however, fall within the purview of the *Lüyuan shiqui* 律苑事規 (Matters and Rules for Vinaya Monasteries), a set of monastic regulations that were, as its title suggests, devised specifically for the purpose of governing a vinaya monastery (*lüyuan* 律苑).[262] In short, as Foulk claims, "there is nothing in the text [i.e., the *Chanyuan qinggui*] to suggest even the slightest movement toward replacing the traditional Chinese Buddhist ordination with any sort of 'Ch'an' ordination."[263] This can also be discerned in the *Chanyuan qinggui*'s unequivocal statement that one must ascend an ordination platform to receive full precepts. Even more telling, perhaps, as Hasebe notes, is the fact that the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規 (Imperial Edition of Baizhang's Rules of Purity), an imperially sanctioned *qinggui* that was widely used in the Yuan and Ming periods, does not make any special mention of precepts or ordination at all.[264]

What Hanyue's *Hongjie fayi* offered the Chan communities of the late Ming and the Qing was thus the possibility of severing their dependence on other traditions,

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[261] See Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaku 1972: 13-19; Yi Fa 2002: 114; and also Foulk 1987: 81-82, 84.

[262] The *Lüyuan shiqui* (preface dated 1325) was compiled by Xingwu 省悟 (d.u.) presumably for his own vinaya monastery Yanchong lüsi 演忠律寺 in Siming. According to Xingwu's own preface, the *Lüyuan shiqui* was compiled to provide vinaya monasteries with something like Baizhang's legendary *qinggui*; ZZ106.1b13-14. For the *Lüyuan shiqui*, see ZZ106.1a1-104b14. The *Lüyuan shiqui* seems to have been used by grand monasteries equipped with ordination platforms such as Kaiyuan si 開元寺 and Daxingguo si 大興國寺 in Hangzhou. For the *Lüyuan shiqui*'s description of the rite of ascending the ordination platform, see ZZ106.17a8-21b15. A very useful summary of its contents are provided in Hasebe 1993: 150-154.

[263] Foulk 1987: 83.

[264] Hasebe 1993: 170 n. 50. The *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* was compiled under imperial decree by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 (d.u.) between the years 1335-1338.

teachers, and lineages.[265] Institutionally, Chan and Vinaya no longer had to be separated. But Hanyue seems to have had more than just institutional independence in mind. He seems to have believed that true Chan could only be had if Chan and Vinaya are taught as one. As Hanyue himself writes in the very first line of the preface to his work: "The world honored one entrusted the gold-embroidered robe to Mahākāśyapa and thus Chan, Dharma, and Vinaya were simultaneously transmitted."[266] But, after the Buddha's passing into nirvana, Hanyue claims, the Vinaya schools were no longer awakened to the tenet of the mind (*xinzong* 心宗), the single Dharma of the bhikṣus split into five divisions, and the Chan tradition transmitted the Dharma and the mind but not Vinaya of the Hīnayāna. The Buddhist scriptures, however, refer to Chan practitioners who do not know "the mind qua Dharma and Vinaya" (*falü zhi xin* 法律之心) as a man of misplaced pride (*zengshangman*), Dharma masters who are not cognizant of "the Vinaya qua Chan mind" (*chanxin zhi lü* 禪心之律) as a man who preaches impurity, and Vinaya masters who are not awakened to the mind seal of the Chan tradition as transgressing bhikṣus.[267] Hanyue therefore believed that dharma transmission could not consist simply of mastering the tenet of Linji—the three mysteries, three essentials, and guest and host. To properly determine the capacity of a disciple, the master, he believed, must also have the disciple memorize the bodhisattva precepts. In fact, Hanyue made sure that the bodhisattva precepts would remain a formal requirement for dharma transmission, at least, at his temple Qingliang yuan by stating it clearly in the pure rules (*qinggui*) for the temple.[268] There is further evidence to suggest that Hanyue had attempted to collapse dharma lineage and precept lineage in to one. Six days after Hanyue's death on the twenty-second day of the seventh month of 1635, Tanji compiled the *Account of Hanyue's Conduct* and

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[265] See Hasebe 1993: 155-156, 266.

[266] 世尊以金襴袈裟付大迦葉而禪法律並傳 (ZZ106.968a2).

[267] 故佛藏經以實相為宗、以禪人不知法律之心者謂之增上慢人、以法師之不識禪心之律者謂之不淨說法、以律師之不悟禪宗心印者謂之破戒比丘 (ZZ106.968a7-9).

[268] *Fosi*, vol. 40: 63.

added the following remark in a postscript: "Although the master received the tenet of the flower raised [by Śākyamuni], he used the universal precepts to discern the capacity of people."[269]

There is no denying that Zhuhong's emphasis on the precepts and the body played an important role in the development of these views articulated by Hanyue.[270] Faced with the challenge of having to reconstruct Chan without the assistance of an established community of qualified teachers and formal state support, Zhuhong and Hanyue seem to have shared the conviction that one can use the body and the precepts to keep the growing tendency to harbor misplaced pride that stems from the arbitrary understanding of ancient Chan sayings in check. Ironically, perhaps, the motivations for compiling the *Hongjie fayi*, as we have seen, seems to stem in large part from Hanyue's own experience of *failing* to receive full precepts from Zhuhong.[271] Although Zhuhong himself cites the ban on ordinations, why he gave Hanyue the cold shoulder is a bit of a mystery. Firstly, that Zhuhong makes no mention of ordination certificates in his *Yunqi gongzhu guiyue* 雲棲共住規約 (Rules and Agreements for Communal Living at Yunqi), as Chün-fang Yü rightly claims, indicates that the official practice of securing a certificate before one received tonsure and ordination was no longer strictly followed in the early

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[269] 師雖秉拈花之旨猶以弘戒選擇人根 (*Fosi*, vol. 44: 130).

[270] For Zhuhong's emphasis on the importance of precepts, see Yü 1981: 192-222 and appendices two and three.

[271] Hanyue seems to have nevertheless considered himself a successor to Zhuhong. As Hanyue also writes in the preface to his *Hongjie fayi*, "ever since the ordination platforms were closed, discipline has all but vanished . . . so I have sought and collected the old [pure] rules and acquired the procedures for administering the full precepts used at the platforms of the Nan[shan vinaya school], and to this I added what I witnessed myself and the bodhisattva precepts procedures from [Zhuhong's] *Jieshu fayin*" (ZZ106.968a15-17). See also Hasebe 1993: 155. For Zhuhong's *Fanwang jing xindi pin pusajie yishu fayin* 梵網經心地品菩薩戒義疏發隱 (Elucidation of the Commentary on the Bodhisattva Precepts Contained the Mind Ground Chapter of the Brahma's Net Scripture), see ZZ59.647a1-822a7. Demonstrating his integrity as a scholar (and obsessive desire to associate himself with Zhuhong), Hanyue was first to admit his indebtedness to Zhuhong or, shall I say, Zhuhong's texts, albeit only after the latter's death: "Though I received the full precepts at Linggu [si] I received them again in front of Yunqi [Zhuhong's] *stūpa*" 既具圓於靈谷、再稟雲棲塔前 (ZZ106.968a12-13).

seventeenth century.[272] "Private ordinations," as Yü puts it, "was now the rule of the day."[273] It could be the case that the ban on ordination platforms was still fresh in Zhuhong's memory when Hanyue made his request, but this fails to explain why he did administer the full precepts to Wengu Guangyin 聞谷廣印 (1566-1636; ordained in 1579), Zhanran Yuancheng (ordained in 1584), and Zhanran's dharma heir Mailang Minghuai 麥浪明懷 (d.u.).[274]

As we can clearly see in the case of Zhanran and Mailang, the division of labor between Chan and Vinaya can result in confusing lineage formations. While in one lineage (i.e., ordination lineage) they are brothers, they are master and disciple in another (i.e., dharma lineage). Consider also the case of Yongjue Yuanxuan. According to his biography,[275] Yongjue, at age thirty-nine, was tonsured by Wuming Hujing 無明慧經 (1548-1618) at his temple Shouchang si 壽昌寺 in Xincheng 新城 (present day Jiangxi province) and eventually became Wuming's dharma heir in 1617.[276] Wuming died shortly thereafter, so Yongjue headed for Mt. Bo 博 and joined the assembly of Wuyi Yuanlai, a fellow dharma heir of Wuming. Sometime during his stay at Mt. Bo, Yongjue received the bodhisattva precepts from Yuanlai.[277] In 1632, Yongjue visited the aforementioned Wengu Guangyin and also received the full precepts.[278] Upon Yuanlai's death in 1639,

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[272] Yü 1981: 198.

[273] Yü 1981: 198.

[274] Noted in Hasebe 1993: 265-266.

[275] I will be relying on the *Fuzhou Gushan Baiyunfeng Yongquan chansi Yongjue Xuan gong daheshang xingye quji* 福州鼓山白雲湧泉禪寺永覺賢公大和尚行業曲記 (Record of the Conduct of the Great Chan Master Yongjue Xian of Baiyun yongquan chansi on Mt. Gu in Fuzhou; hereafter *Record of Yongjue's Conduct*); see ZZ125. 783b15-788b6 (cf. Xu 1994: 294-298). I have also consulted the *Gushan Yongjue laoren zhuan* 鼓山永覺老人傳 (Biography of Old Man Yongjue of Mt. Gu); see ZZ125. 788b7-792a12 (cf. Xu 1994: 298-301).

[276] ZZ125.784a15-b6. Wuming began restoration of Shouchang si in 1608.

[277] ZZ125.784b7-8; noted in Hasebe 1993: 266.

Yongjue constructed a mortuary *stūpa* for Yuanlai and personally prepared the memorial inscription (*ming* 銘), a practice usually reserved for a dharma heir.[279]

According to his biography, Yuanlai himself had received both full precepts and bodhisattva precepts from Zhuhong's great pupil Yang'an Guangxin 養庵廣心 (1547-1627) in 1601.[280] Under the recommendation of Yang'an, Yuanlai subsequently paid three visits to Zhuhong and is said to have thus come to "regard precepts as his teacher" (*nian jie wei shi*念戒為師).[281] Because he had also received transmission from Wuming, one of his memorial inscriptions makes the curious observation that the disciples of Yuanlai have "one source but two duties" (*yuanyi er weier* 源一而委二).[282] Liu Rigao's 劉日杲 (d.u.) biography of Yuanlai similarly ends with the telling note that "the master inherited the dharma of Shouchang [i.e., Wuming] and transmitted the vinaya of Ehu [i.e., Yangan]—all he did was put them together."[283] This apparently began when Yuanlai was invited to Mt. Bo. There he built himself a humble abode and carried out the

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[278] Wengu's influence on Yongjue is a subject that is in desperate need of study. Yongjue's a memorial inscription for Wengu can be found in the *Yongjue heshang guanglu*; see ZZ125.609b4-612b14.

[279] ZZ125.785b10. The memorial inscription can be found in the *Yongjue heshang guanglu*; see ZZ125.612b15-615a5.

[280] Boshan's biography can be found in the *Boshan Wuyi dashi yibo taming* 博山無異大師衣缽塔銘 (Robes, Bowls, Stūpa Inscription for Great Master Boshan Wuyi), *Boshan heshang zhuan* 博山和尚傳 (Biography of Master Boshan), and *Zhongxing Xinzhou Boshan Nengren chansi Wuyi dashi ta bing xu* 中興信州博山能仁禪寺無異大師塔銘并序 (Stūpa Inscription for Great Master Wuyi, Reviver of Nengren chansi on Mt. Bo in Xinzhou). For the reference to Yangan, see ZZ125.614a3, 389a10-12, and 393b13-14 respectively. It should be noted here that Yuanlai had already received the full precepts from a certain Jian Hong 極庵洪 (d.u.) before he met Yangan; see ZZ125.388a15-16 and 393b13. Hasebe 1993: 215, 246.

[281] ZZ125. 393b16.

[282] ZZ125. 393b17-18. Yuanlai's career stands, however, in stark contrast to that of Miyun, Hanyue, or even his dharma brother Yongjue who produced hundreds of recognized disciples. Yuanlai is known to have had but one officially recognized dharma heir Xueguan Zhiyin 雪關智誾 (1605-1657). And, although he inherited Wuming Huijing's Caodong lineage, Yuanlai showed more interest in the work of Dahui than the work fellow Caodong lineage monks. For these and other issues related to Yuanlai, see Hasebe 1976a.

[283] 和尚法嗣壽昌、律傳鵝湖、殆兼之矣 (ZZ125.392a1-2).

dual practice of Chan and Vinaya.[284] Soon Buddhism on Mt. Bo began to flourish. Learning of his residence at Mt. Bo, Yangan is said to have sent Yuanlai a manual for administering precepts (*shoujie yigui* 授戒儀軌),[285] and Yuanlai apparently put the manual to good use. According to Liu's estimate, Yuanlai had purportedly administered precepts to over ten million people.[286] But by no means was Yuanlai exceptional. His dharma brother Yongjue, for instance, was no less impressive in his efforts to administer precepts. According to his biography, the number of people who received precepts from Yongjue numbered in the tens of thousands.[287]

These numbers should not, however, distract us from the truly momentous change that we see in the examples of Hanyue, Yuanlai, and Yongjue. The bestowal of precepts, as mentioned earlier, had always been the prerogative of the vinaya master (*lüshi*) and carried out under strict state control at vinaya monasteries (*lüsi*) equipped with an ordination platform (*kaitan*). Those who partook in the mythology of Chan and specialized in its literature and rites like entering the master's room (*rushi*) and ascending the platform (*shangtang*) did not, as far as we can tell, concern themselves with the conferral of full precepts. In the late Ming, all this changed. Now, self-styled Chan masters who operated their temples according to pure rules (*qinggui*) were participating actively in the conferral of full precepts and increasingly concerning themselves with the rites and procedures related to the Vinaya. Hanyue's *Hongjie fayi* is an exemplary product of this change.

The *Hongjie fayi* is a particularly meaningful text for students of early modern Zen in that it served as the basis for another important text that bears the same name.

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284 ZZ125. 389b4-5.

285 ZZ125. 389b5.

286 ZZ125.390b11; noted in Hasebe 1993: 215. Among the many people who received the precepts from Yuanlai was Miyun Yuanwu's dharma heir Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容 (1593-1662); see Hasebe 1976a.

287 ZZ125.788a15.

This new text is attributed to Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (J. Ingen Ryūki; 1592-1673), an émigré Chinese monk whose arrival in Nagasaki in 1654 created a great stir within the Zen community. For various reasons, monks from all backgrounds flocked to Yinyuan's temple to consult the eminent Chan master. Most notable in this respect—at least, for the purposes of this study—is the Japanese monk Egoku Dōmyō 慧極道明 (1632-1721).[288] Egoku first made contact with Yinyuan at the latter's new temple in Uji 宇治 called Manpukuji 萬福寺 in 1663. Two years later in 1665, Egoku served as the chief ordinand (*kaitō* 戒頭) at an ordination ceremony known as the *sandan kaie* 三壇戒會 (Triple Platform Ordination Ceremony) held at Manpukuji.[289] It only took Egoku another two years to receive *inka* from Yinyuan's dharma heir Muan Xingtao 木庵性瑫 (Mokuan Shōtō; 1611-1684), which enabled him to serve as the precepts master at a *sandan kaie* held at an important branch temple of Manpukuji called Zuishōji 瑞聖寺 in 1691.[290] This, I submit, is a direct product of Hanyue's activities during the late Ming, for the blueprint for the *sandan kaie* ceremony was none other than the *Hongjie fayi*.[291]

But what does all this have to do with Hakuin? According to the *Hakuin nenpu*, the young Hakiun visited his teacher Shōju at the latter's hermitage Shōjuan 正受菴 near Iiyama castle 飯山城 (present day Nagano) in the fourth month of 1708. The *nenpu*'s account of their encounter is consistent—in fact, too consistent—with Hakuin's

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[288] As Michel Mohr points out, Hakuin's relation with Egoku has not received enough attention (Mohr 2000: 256). To date, only one book-length study on Egoku exists; see Rinoue 1981. The best discussion of Egoku's relationship to Hakuin can be found in Rikugawa1963: 88-113. See also Baroni 2000: 79-80.

[289] See Rinoue 1981: 603. The first *sandan kaie* was held at Manpukuji in 1663. For a ver useful overview of the ceremony and its history, see Baroni 2000: 94-98.

[290] See Rinoue 1981: 157; and also Baroni 2000: 79-80. Muan commissioned Chōon Dōkai to oversee the constructioni of Zuishōji in 1671; Baroni 2000: 81.

[291] See Hasebe 1993: 140, 167. As Hasebe points out, Hanyue himself does not seem to have ever held a ceremony that consists of three platforms, but the *Hongjie fayi* deserves the credit for making such a .ceremony possible; see Hasebe 1993: 266. The three platform format seems to be a new development that occurred at Yinyuan's temple Wanfu si (J. Manpuku ji) on Mt. Huangbo 黄檗; see Hasebe 1993: 281 n. 53.

description of koan practice in the *Sokkōroku kaien fuestsu*. As the *nenpu* tells us, Hakuin was first tested with Zhaozhou's "no." When Shōju demonstrated the inadequacy of Hakuin's response the latter, we are told, sweat poured from his entire body.[292] Shōju again tested Hakuin with Nanquan's death and later while begging for alms Hakuin eventually penetrates this critical phrase. That moment, Hakuin is also said to have penetrated Dahui's verse on the round lotus leaves,[293] Sushan's longevity *stūpa*, and "all the remaining deep tenets that are difficult to penetrate."[294] In the fifth month of that same year, Hakuin desired to receive full precepts (*kusokukai* 倶足戒) at the nearby temple Ekōzenin 慧光禅院 and Shōju, says the *nenpu*, then imparted to him the true formula (*shinketsu* 真訣) of the formless mind ground precepts (*musō shinchikai* 無相心地戒). No further mention is made of Hakuin's wishes to go to Ekōzenin, but Rikugawa Taiun suspects that Hakuin did end up making the trip to receive the full precepts.[295] As evidence, he points to Hakuin's relations with Gōun Soei 劫雲祖永 (d. 1744), abbot of Ekōzenin.[296] According to a short note on Gōun's visit to Shōinji recorded in the *Keisō dokuzui*, Hakuin and Gōun were old acquaintances and they had not heard from each other for over thirty years.[297] The *Hakuin nenpu* also records their second encounter as

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[292] Katō 1985: 94; cf. Waddell 1994a: 123.

[293] Dahui's verse goes as follows:
Lotus leaves so round, they are as round as a mirror
Water chestnuts so square, they are as sharp as gimlets
Wind blows, willow leaves float away like balls of fur
Rain beats down, plum flowers fly away like butterflies

荷葉團團團似鏡
菱角尖尖尖似錐
風吹柳絮毛毬走
雨打梨花蛺蝶飛 (T47.1998A.855a28-29 and 936b23-25).

[294] 其余難透深旨(Katō 1985: 95); cf. Waddell 1994a: 125.

[295] Rikugawa 1963: 61.

[296] Rikugawa 1963: 61-63.

having occurred in 1743 when the elder Gōun had come to Shōinji to consult Hakuin about koan practice.[298] This, as Rikugawa points out, would put their first encounter sometime before 1713, which means that Hakuin could indeed have encountered Gōun as a fellow student at Ekōzenin in 1708.

Regardless of whether or not Hakuin had indeed made the trip to Ekōzenin, the fact that Hakuin wished to go to the temple to receive the full precepts is quite significant in and of itself. Unfortunately, little is known about the temple and its abbot Katsugan Kyojun 活巖巨峻 (d.u.).[299] Rikugawa, however, has been able to locate a very valuable reference to Ekōzenin in the biography of Seikō Sokun 西江祖勳 (1678-1755) of Tafukuji 多福寺, a temple in Bungo 豊後 province (present day Kyūshū) that flourished under the leadership of Sessō Sōsai 雪窓宗崔 (1589-1649) and his disciple Kengan Zenetsu 賢巖禪悦 (1618-1697).[300] It is noted in the biography that Seikō had once attended Katsugan's lectures on the *Zhongfeng heshang guanglu* 中峰和尚廣録 (Extended Records of Venerable Zhongfeng) at Ekōzenin.[301] Given Tafukuji's intimate relations with the émigré Chinese monks of nearby Nagasaki, we may surmise cautiously that Seikō and Katsugan were probably Zen masters who had strong leanings towards, if not a direct affiliation with, the teachings of the émigré Chinese Chan masters like Yinyuan and the

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[297] See HOZ 2: 282.

[298] See Katō 1985: 208. Gōun served as seventh generation abbot of Ekōzenin. According to the note in the *Keisō dokuzui*, Hakuin had built a reputation at that time for not handing out recognition of people's accomplishments easily, which Hakuin himself had apparently referred to as his "chronic malaise" (*koshitsu* 痼疾); HOZ 2: 282 (cf. Rikugawa 1963: 62).

[299] My reading of his name is tentative.

[300] Rikugawa mistakenly identifies the biography as Kengan's. For the reference to Ekōzenin in Seikō's biography, preserved in the *Kinsei zenrin sōbōden* 近世禅林僧宝伝 (printed in 1889), see Nōnin 2002, vol. 1: 419. For Kengan, see his biography in the *Kinsei zenrin sōbōden*; Nōnin 2002: 281-290; cf. Baskind 2006, vol. 1: 259-261.

[301] Rikugawa 1963: 61.

strict adherence to precepts (*jikai* 持戒) like Kengan and his teacher Sessō.[302] This would, if true, explain why the full precepts were being administered at Katsugan's temple. Hakuin's interest in the type of Zen practiced by Katsugan and the monks of Tafukuji is further evinced in his visit to Kenkokuji 建國寺 in Ise province in 1713.[303] Hakuin made this trip, we are told, to study with Jōsan Jakuji 定山寂而 (1676-1736), a dharma heir of Kengan. (It seems also worth noting here that Hakuin studied Jōsan's supplementary lectures on the *Xutang lu* at Kenkokuji.) That same year Hakuin is also said to have attempted to consult another fellow dharma heir of Kengan by the name of Kogetsu Zenzai 古月禪材 (1667-1751) about Dahui's verse on the round lotus leaves,[304] but he gave up on these plans and eventually made his way to Hōunji 法雲寺 in Kawachi province instead. There, he consulted the abbot Egoku about the malady of meditation. In fact, it was Egoku who instructed Hakuin to wither away with the grass and trees in the deep mountains. With these instructions in hand, Hakuin then headed for the Sōtō Zen temple Inryōji 蔭涼寺 in Wakasa province where, we are told, he hoped to encounter traces of the teachings of Tesshin Dōin 鐵心道印 (1593-1680), a Japanese monk who, like Kengan and Kogetsu, had studied under the émigré Chinese Chan master Daozhe Chaoyuan 道者超元 (J. Dosha Chōgen 1602-1662).

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[302] The study of precepts became a focal point for many "reform" movements during the Edo period. In addition to the Ōbaku converts and figures like Sessō and Isshi Bunshu/Monju 一絲文守 (1608-1646), the most representative figures are Jizan Myōryū 慈山妙立 (1637-1690), Jiun Onko 慈雲飲光 (1718-1804), and Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683-1769). Although little known outside of Japan, a few studies of these precepts movements are available in English. For instance, see Watt 1982 and 1984; Riggs 2002: 177-190; Cogan 2004; and Clark 2006.

[303] Hakuin had also spent some time in the saṃgha hall of the Sōtō Zen temple Inryōji 蔭涼寺 in order to find out more about the monk Tesshin Dōin 鐵心道印 (1593-1680). Tesshin is known to have studied under Daozhe. See Katō 1985: 136-144; Waddell 1994a: 140.

[304] For Kogetsu, see Sasao 2002: 121-128. See also Baskind 2006: 262-274. Kogetsu's ties to the émigré Chinese monks are very strong. Kogetsu had not only studied under Kengan and Bankei, but he had also attended a *sandan kaie* ceremony at Manpukiji and received the full precepts in 1699. He was a close friend of Hōun Myōdō 法雲明洞 (1638-1708), a disciple of Yinyuan's dharma heir Jifei Ruyi 即非如一 (J. Sokuhi Nyoitsu, 1616-1671); see Takenuki 1989: 265-266. For Kogetsu's relations with the émigré Chinese monks, see also Takenuki 1992: 265-267.

For Hakuin, the year 1713 thus seems to have been the year that he decided to devote to deepening his understanding of late Ming Chan as it was practiced by the first generation of its Japanese converts. Due in large part to the sectarian nature of Zen studies in Japan, however, the significance of this period of discovery has received scant notice in previous studies of Hakuin. But upon closer examination one can readily notice the continuing vacillation between attraction and repulsion towards late Ming Chan in Hakuin's life and also in his work. The following comment from the *Hakuin nenpu*'s entry for 1714, for instance, leaves one with the impression that Hakuin had all but forgotten his attempt to study under the Japanese students of Daozhe and Yinyuan: "Among the many records left by Chinese masters from the Yuan and the Ming dynasties on up to the present, there is not a single one I can even bear to look at. How could Daitō be an exception!"[305] Hakuin later comes to change his mind about Daitō but not about Ming dynasty Chan. There is, again, no denying that Hakuin's stance toward late Ming Chan was a negative one, but the very arsenal from which he gathered the necessary weapons to battle the heretical Chan of, say, Zhuhong and Yongjue was itself, I argue, a distinctive product of late Ming Chan. Perhaps due to my own myopia, among the many weapons in this arsenal the numerous testimonies to the dangers of the malady of meditation and the importance of the body in studying Chan seem to stand out from the rest.

Testimonies to the Malady of Meditation

Although there is no way to know for sure where Hakuin first encountered the writings on the malady of meditation, I would like to suggest Egoku as a strong possibility. Why else would the *Hakuin nenpu* name Egoku as the first Zen master to offer Hakuin counsel for his illness? There is another reason to consider Egoku as a likely candidate. While serving the politically and symbolically important post of abbot of Zuishōji,[306] the de-facto headquarters for Yinyuan and his disciples in Edo, Egoku delivered a relatively

[305] Katō 1985: 145; trans. Waddell 1994a: 142.

[306] Egoku became the third generation abbot of Zuishōji in 1687. That same year he also served as the *karmācārya* at a *sandan kaie* held at Zuishōji.

short vernacular sermon later entitled *Itchimi zen* 一味禅 (Single Flavored Zen) for publication in 1691.[307] Egoku begins this polemically charged sermon with the declaration that the Buddha's dharma ultimately lies in seated meditation (*zazen*).[308] "To be seated," he explains, "is to not move by remaining quiet in exterior form, and to meditate is to count the breath while remaining tranquil in the interior mind."[309] Once seated in meditation, one then carries out meditative-work (*kufū*) by investigating a critical phrase (*watō*). This, Egoku says, is what people refer to as "the tasteless koan" (*mumi no kōan* 無味ノ公案).[310] When carrying on this meditative-work one must not, however, wait for awakening.[311] This, he states, is but delusion (*mayoi* 迷ヒ) and a heretical view (*jaken* 邪見). If the practitioner does end up succumbing to a great illness (*daibyō* 大病) by adhering to the two extremes of delusion and awakening, then, he tells us, one will never attain awakening.[312]

So what sort of illness (*yamai* 病), he asks, do the students face today? He lists four: (1) "the illness lies in the fact that [these students] do not trust themselves"[313]; "also, an illness lies in not following the teachings of a teacher"[314]; "also, an illness lies in seeking immediate benefits"[315]; and "also an illness lies in worldly wisdom and talent with

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[307] Rinoue 1981: 245.

[308] Rinoue 1981: 245.

[309] 坐ハ外形チノ閒カニシテ、動カザルヲ云、禅ハ内心ノ静カニシテ、喘カザルヲ云 (Rinoue 1981: 245).

[310] Rinoue 1981: 246.

[311] 工夫ヲナストキ第一心ヲモツテ悟リヲ待コトナカレ (Rinoue 1981: 247).

[312] Rinoue 1981: 247.

[313] ヤマヒ不自信ノトコロニアリ (Rinoue 1981: 249).

[314] 又病師ノ教ニシタガハザルトコロニアリ (Rinoue 1981: 249).

[315] 又病即効ヲモトムルトコロニアリ (Rinoue 1981: 249).

words."[316] These problems are exacerbated, he tells us, by the fact that there are practitioners of an ersatz Zen (*sōji zen* 相似禅) who drag other blind beings to hell with them. These heretical teachers do not believe in awakening and, never having encountered a true teacher, they attempt to penetrate the words of the sutras and recorded sayings by relying solely on the merit of their own natural [enlightenment] (*jinen no kō* 自然ノ功).[317] These teachers call awakening a deception, a secondary affair, and an expedient means. They instruct people to freeze their minds in a quiet place, to put all affairs on hold and return to emptiness, and to firmly close their eyes and cut off their breath like dirt, trees, tiles, and rocks while seated in meditation. What the ancients called silent illumination zen, Egoku reminds his readers, is precisely this.[318] Egoku then cites Gaofeng Yuanmiao's testimony to his own awakening, a testimony that he seems to have taken right out of the *Changuan cejin*.[319] Not coincidentally, perhaps, Gaofeng's testimony in the *Changuan cejin* is accompanied by a sermon that Gaofeng delivered on the topic of the dangers of waiting for awakening.

Testimonies to the dangers of silent illumination and consequent rise of the malady of meditation, as we have seen, abound in the *Changuan cejin*. Beginning with Ehu Dayi's 鵝湖大義 (735-818) stern reminder "not to completely forget the body and kill the mind for this is the most fatal among the illnesses that are difficult to cure,"[320] Zhuhong provides an impressive collection of aphorisms, testimonies, and teachings that speak of the malady of meditation including, for instance, that of Wuzu, Dahui, Zuqin, Mengshan, and Gaofeng to name but a few. Zhuhong, however, was not alone in focusing on the malady of meditation in his attempt to reinvent (or, as he would have preferred to call it,

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[316] 又病世智弁聴ノトコロニアリ (Rinoue 1981: 249).

[317] Rinoue 1981: 251.

[318] Rinoue 1981: 253.

[319] See Fujiyoshi 1970: 76-81.

[320] Fujiyoshi 1970: 34.

reinvigorate, or perhaps even, revive) koan practice during the late Ming. Hanyue, as we may recall, had also apparently used the testimony to his own illness for similar purposes. The didactic intent of his illness testimony may seem more obvious once we take into consideration the fact that he had composed a *gātha* entitled the *chanbing ji* 禪病偈 or "malady of meditation *gātha*." Fortunately, a copy of Hanyue's postscript to this *gātha* is preserved in the gazetteer of his temple Qingliang si on Mt. Sanfeng.[321] The postscript begins with this rather telling statement:

> If one takes a look at the splendid words of the ancients on the topic of the malady of meditation—how Dahui of the Song had dealt with the fault of the deluded experiences of seventeen or eighteen good friends, how Xueyan [Zuqin] of the Yuan had dealt with the fault of the meticulous and distressing meditative-work of the [Cao]dong, and how Gaofeng had dealt with the fault of [struggling] with the difficult doubt of the "no" character for three years—then everyone will come to understand that they spoke of the malady of mediation because of the poison of the heretical teachers among their assemblies.[322]

Unless we are to assume that this "lineage" of the malady of meditation (i.e. Dahui, Zuqin, and Gaofeng) was common knowledge during the late Ming, it seems to be more likely that Hanyue had learned of this "lineage" from the *Changuan cejin* published in 1600.

Hanyue also explains in his postscript that while investigating Chan with ten or so others on Mt. Sanfeng he had not yet been aware that there was such a thing as the malady of meditation. In 1618, only after his reputation grew and students from all sorts of backgrounds and with all sorts of stubborn biases came to consult him did Hanyue decide to write the *gātha*. But even then he kept the *gātha* a secret. Years passed and Hanyue had come to assume the abbotship of Beichan si. Learning of the flourishing of demonic theories from his disciple Dingmu Hongtie, Hanyue finally began to use the

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[321] See *Fosi*, vol. 40: 325.

[322] *Fosi*, vol. 40: 325.

gātha as a remedy for those who came and hung their staff at his temple. "But who am I," he asks, "to dare teach the malady of meditation as the ancient worthies once did before?" He also hastens to add that *the malady of meditation widespread today did not originate from the worthies of his time and era but from the stubbornness of the Chan practitioners.* The postscript thus ends with the sincere plea to all the worthies in the country to assist him in saving those who suffer from the malady of meditation.

Hanyue was by no means alone in his fight against the malady of meditation. Faced with the challenge of reinventing (or reinvigorating) koan practice, many, it seems, had found the malady of meditation to be a particularly useful lesson and heuristic tool. At the forefront of this fight against the malady of meditation we find such renowned figures as Zhuhong, Yongjue,[323] Yuanlai, and Huishan Jiexian 晦山戒顯 (d.u.) whose Chan primer, *Chanmen duanlian shuo* 禪門鍛練説 (Theories of Training in the Chan School), literally provides a battle plan against this malady.[324] As we may glean from Hakuin's frequent references to Yuanlai and his lectures on Yuanlai's *Chanbing jingyu* 禪病警語 ("Admonitions against Maladies of Meditation"),[325] Hakuin's own attempt to reinvent (or reinvigorate) koan practice in Japan was in large part an extension of these efforts of late Ming Chan. Although Hakuin had come to adamantly disavow this influence from the continent, I have attempted to show in this chapter that this very disavowal was ironically

[323] In his preface to a new edition of Dahui's Letters that had recently been recarved, Yongjue offered a new typology of the malady of mediation. This he did because, in his own words, "meditation has a malady and its symptoms are not just one 禪之有病、其症非一 (ZZ125.552a12).

[324] For the *Chanmen duanlian shuo*, see ZZ112.985a1-1008b3. As Huishan states in his preface (dated 1601), the *Chanmen duanlian shuo* was modeled after Sunzi's 孫子 (ca. 544-496 B.C.E.) legendary art of war, *Sunzi bingfa*孫子兵法. Huishan was the abbot of the grand temple Lingyin si in Hangzhou. He also compiled the temple gazetteer for Lingyin si.

[325] The *Chanbing jingyu* is also known as the *Boshan heshang canchan jing yu* 博山和尚参禪警語 (Venerable Boshan's Words of Admonition for Investigators of Chan), or simply *Boshan chan jingyu* 博山禪警語, ZZ 112:946-971. I follow the title *Chanbing jingyu* that is provided in the preface to the text. The *Chanbing jingyu* was edited by chief seat Chengzheng 成正 (d.u.) and a preface for the text was prepared by a lay disciple by the name Liu Shongjing 劉崇慶 in 1611. Hakuin lectured on this text to a large group of students as early as 1724; see Katō 1985: 171; and also Waddell 1994a: 153. Hakuins' refers to Boshan Wuyi Yuanlai on several occasions in his *Oradegama*.

predicated upon late Ming assumptions about the role of the body and precepts in studying Chan and the threat of succumbing to the malady of meditation.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the growth of the printing industry under the political stability of the Edo period was another important factor in the spread of these assumptions. I would even argue here that this factor was what made Hakuin's disavowal of late Ming Chan possible. The flurry of Buddhist printing projects in Kyoto even facilitated the ascendancy of Yinyuan and his faction in Japan. We know, for instance, that Ryōkei Shōsen 龍溪性潜 (1602-1670) and others from Myōshinji were so willing to extend a warm welcome to Yinyuan because they had acquired a copy of the latter's recorded sayings prior to his arrival and were deeply impressed with what they saw.[326] We also know that Yuanlai's *Chanbing jingyu* was printed in Kyoto as early as 1650 and the woodblock for this text had been recarved on several more occasions, which seems to attest to its great popularity.[327] One edition of the *Chanbing jingyu* received the widest circulation (often referred to as the Minōbon 美濃本) and this edition was based on a hand-written copy by the Sōtō monk Kōeki 交易 (1635-1694) and printed in 1689. This same Kōeki was also responsible, in fact, for the wide circulation of Yongjue's *Chanyu neiji*, which he published with his commentary as the *Zenyo naishū shitsujitsu* 禪餘內集質實 (Simple Truth of the *Chanyu neiji*) in 1677. While more can certainly be said about the role of the printing industry in the development of the malady of meditation,[328] here I

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[326] According to Mujaku Dōchū's *Ōbaku geki* 黃檗外記 (An Outside Account of Ōbaku), Mujaku's teacher Tokuō Myōkō (1611-1681) had purchased Yinyuan's work in two volumes from a book dealer in Kyoto three years before his arrival in Japan in 1654; see Baroni 2000: 44. Tokuō recommended these works to Ryōkei.

[327] Here I rely on the invaluable study of the *Chanbing jingyu* in Japan by Hasebe Yūkei (1974).

[328] A particularly noteworthy study in this respect is Bodiford 2006 (cf. Riggs 2003). Bodiford's arguments concerning the end of the medieval culture of secrecy in the Tokugawa period allow us to see that Hakuin's battle against Ming Buddhist scholarship is not an isolated phenomenon. During the Tokugawa period, a new culture of public, printed, and punctuated texts arose and feuled an enthusiasm shared by Confucian and Buddhist scholars alike for philological and evidentiary scholarship. With the help of this scholarship Tokugawa Buddhist scholars—Bodiford focuses on examples from Tendai—hoped to "retore" the orthodoxy of Song dynasty Buddhism,

conclude my discussion of Hakuin's intricate relations to the late Ming discourse of the malady of meditation with a few more words on his contemporaries Bankei, Kogetsu, and Tōrei.

Conclusion

Although Bankei and Hakuin are often considered the two opposite ends of the Rinzai Zen spectrum, they do have some important things in common. Both figures, for instance, had at one point been interested in the Chan/Zen that had been recently imported from the continent, but both came to abandon this earlier interest in favor of a style of Zen untrammeled by the conventions of late Ming Chan. As is well known, they reached vastly different conclusions as to what this style of Zen should look like, but they nevertheless shared what appears to have been the inevitable fate of undergoing a bout of illness in the process of discovering their own style of Zen. Bankei, for instance, describes his illness experience in the following manner:

> The adverse effects of the long years of physical punishment built up and finally led to a serious illness. And I still hadn't clarified bright virtue, in spite of all the time and effort I had spent wrestling with it. My illness steadily worsened. I grew weaker and weaker. Whenever I spat, gouts of bloody sputum as big as thumb heads appeared. Once, I spat against a wall and the globules stuck and slid to the ground in bright-red beads. The kindly people who lived nearby said that I should recuperate my health in the hut. They arranged for someone to look after me. But the illness now reached a critical stage. For a whole week, I couldn't swallow anything except some thin rice broth. I became resigned to the fact that I was going to die. I viewed it as inevitable and felt no great regret. The

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albeit a Buddhism that was more often than not mediated by similar scholarly endeavors that took place during the Ming. The impact of this new culture on Buddhism was significant: it essentially brought the culture of secret initiations and transmission rites, which dominated medieval Japanese Buddhism, to an end. Zhuhong's *Changuan cejin*, Yongjue's *Chanyu neiji*, Yuanlai's *Chanbing jingyu*, and Hanyue's work on Buddhist precepts, I would argue, also belong to this new intellectual culture and milieu. As of yet, there is no definitive study on the impact of this new culture on Ming Buddhism and more work clearly needs to be done.

> only thing that really bothered me was having to die without discovering the meaning of bright virtue, which had had sole possession of my thoughts for so long. Then I felt a strange sensation in my throat. I spat against a wall. A mass of black phlegm as a soapberry rolled down the side. It seemed to relieve the discomfort in my chest. Suddenly, just at that moment, it came to me. I realized what it was that had escaped me until now: *All things are perfectly resolved in the Unborn.* I realized too that what I had been doing all this time had been mistaken. I knew all my efforts had been in vain.[329]

It is, as I have argued, largely on account of the influence of late Ming Chan that we find so much talk of illness and Zen in the writings of people like Bankei during the Edo period. But people did more than just talk about the malady of meditation. They institutionalized it. The institutionalization of this link between illness and Zen can be witnessed, for instance, in the following passage from Kogetsu's regulations for the saṃgha hall (*sōdō* 僧堂) known as *The Lancet of Rules* (*kishin* 規箴):

> The investigation of Zen (*sanzen* 參禪) comes first. At the time [of *sanzen*] one must not forget to take awakening (*satori*) as the model, not acknowledge others' words, and not delight in self-conceptualization. Do not rest and relax like a dead snubnose-dogwolf as you proceed [in your practice of *sanzen*]. The matter beneath one's body has heretofore resisted serenity and [has remained] vivacious. However, if you fail to invigorate yourself even for a moment then there is no agreement with your lot. Consequently, some establish critical phrases with no meaning or taste and fight poison with poison while some attempt to directly ignite (*tenpatsu* 點發) the mind and transmit the mind, [but both options] shall equally entrap the likes of you therein. In this age of decline and demoralization there are many maladies of meditation. You must speak of your own matter when you open your mouth and be cautious not to fall and dwell in a cave.[330]

[329] Waddell, 50-51; see also Tamaki 1981: 197-199.

With so much talk of illness and Zen, especially in the assemblies of Kogetsu and Hakuin, it should come as no surprise to discover that Tōrei, who had studied under both masters, had also experienced an illness before his final breakthrough. It began, his chronological biography tells us, in 1746, the year that he received a certificate of dharma transmission from Hakuin, with signs of tuberculosis (*rōbei* 癆病).[331] Fatigue increased day by day and whenever the wind blew he would get goose bumps. His body began to shrivel and lose weight. His condition only became worse the following year. In 1747 he began to show signs of jaundice (*ōtan* 黄癉).[332] So Tōrei, we are told, came to devote all his attention to "refining the elixir" (*rentan* 練丹). Three days later he was cured of his illness, but only temporarily. His chronic illness (*koshitsu* 痼疾) appeared again not long thereafter. In the fall of 1748 his condition became serious, but instead of hopelessly waiting for death Tōrei decided to put even more effort into his studies. On a cold night his clothes became soaked in sweat and he experienced eight or nine moments of awakening. Tōrei then purportedly arrived at the following conclusion about his illness: "Upon reflection, the cultivation of the mind went beyond measure and the five organs all equally became exhausted, and thus I had come to sink into illness."[333]

What we cannot help but notice in the accounts of Bankei, Hakuin, and Tōrei's illness, however, is its distinctively physical quality. Why, we may ask, was there so much talk of phlegm, cold feet, fear, depression, ringing in the ears, tuberculosis, jaundice, fatigue and refining elixirs? There are no easy answers, but in the next chapter I hope to

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[330] Kawakami 1984: 647. *The Lancet of Rules* was prepared for a summer retreat held in 1726 at the temple Hōgenji 鳳源寺 in Bingo prefecture. Along with *The Lancet of Rules*, Kogetsu's work can be found at the beginning of the "middle" volume of the *Kogetsu Zenji shie roku* 古月禪師四會錄 (*Record of Zen Master Kogetsu's Four Assemblies*; hereafter *Four Assemblies Record*), currently housed in the library of the Zenbunka kenkyūsho 禪文化研究所 in Kyoto (Catalogue # Z5118, 119, 120, 121).

[331] Nishimura 1982: 125. For the following, see also Mohr 1997: 39-40.

[332] Nishimura 1982: 125.

[333] 今夫顧之、用心過度、五内悽齊疲、致感此沈痾 (Nishimura 1982: 125).

make some cautious suggestions by setting Hakuin's work on the malady of meditation against the background of medicine in Edo period Japan.

Chapter Five. Zen and the Art of Nourishing Life

Introduction

In his letter to Nabeshima Naotsune, the ailing lord of Hasu no Ike domain, Hakuin Ekaku relies on two seemingly conflicting analogies to speak of the malady of meditation or *zenbyō*. One the one hand, Hakuin likens the treatment of *zenbyō* to the art of governing a country: "The spirit (*shin* 神) represents the prince, the essence (*sei* 精) the ministers, and the vital energy (*ki* 氣) the people. When the people are loved and cared for, then the country is perfected; when the vital energy is guarded, then the body is perfected. When the people are scattered (*min sanzuru* 民散ズル), the nation is destroyed; when the vital energy is exhausted (*ki tsukuru* 氣竭クル), the body dies."[1] The sagely lord (*seishu* 聖主) thus always keeps his mind focused on what is below—the people.[2] Otherwise, the people become resentful. Vital energy must likewise be made to accumulate fully below.

On the other hand, Hakuin also likens the stubborn attachment to what he calls meditative-work in the midst of quietude (*jōchū no kufū*) to a man who tries to guard his gold (i.e., his resolve to carry out meditative-work) by shutting himself in a room.[3] Like the *śrāvaka* who strives only for his own awakening, this man, says Hakuin, may be able to guard the gold but not his vital energy. He will thus succumb to the malady of meditation. What, then, constitutes a genuine investigation of Zen (*shinshō sanzen* 真正参禅)? According to Hakuin, the bodhisattva approach and hence the genuine approach is to take the gold and march straight through a road infested with thieves, that is to say, delusions, desires, and wrong views. Unless one carries out such meditative-work in the midst of activity (*dōchū no kufū*), all vital energy, he claims, will be lost like a lotus touched by fire. In fact, Hakuin insists that the practitioner who wishes to investigate genuine Zen must

[1] Yoshizawa 2001a: 228; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 44 (with some minor changes). This same analogy is also made in the *Yasenkanna*; see Yoshizawa 2000a: 114; cf. Waddell 2002: 102-103.

[2] 是故ニ聖主ハ常ニ心ヲ下ニ専ニシ (Yoshizawa 2001a: 228).

[3] For the following, see Yoshizawa 2001a: 200-201; and also Yampolsky 1971: 34.

strive to be like "a lotus that blossoms from the midst of flames."[4] He or she, in other words, must be able to cultivate a mind of purity without abandoning the various desires and the objects of the senses. What we seem to have here in Hakuin's letter to Nabeshima, then, are two potentially conflicting images of vital energy: whereas one takes vital energy to be in need of preservation, protection, and accumulation "below" the other regards this defensive attitude as the very cause of the loss of vital energy and the outbreak of the malady of meditation.

To be sure, what Hakuin hoped to eventually accomplish by promoting meditative-work in the midst of activity was to *rise above* this seeming contradiction, but this should not keep us from paying closer attention to the subtle yet unmistakable difference between the two views of vital energy that we find in Hakuin's letter. That we need to do so becomes all the more apparent, I believe, when we consider the fact that a similar tension can be observed, for instance, in Kaibara Ekken's 貝原益軒 (1630-1714) immensely popular manual of nourishing life, *Yōjōkun* 養生訓 (Precepts for Nourishing Life), published in 1713. Let me explain. Ekken opens this manual with the simple definition of nourishing life as the art of keeping inner desires (*naiyoku* 内欲) at bay and outer evils (*gaija* 外邪) away. Underlying this unassuming definition, what we find is a theme that is common to most, if not all, texts that belong to the nourishing life genre, namely the need to guard against *xu* 虛 or the "depletion" of primordial energy (*genki* 元氣). But Ekken's definition of nourishing life does not stop here. What is truly striking about his *Yōjōkun* is the fact that it also adds the curious and potentially contradictory remark that one should not sit for long periods or take naps after meals as this will cause stagnation (*todokoori* 滞り) and eventually bring about illness.[5] As an effective means of preventing stagnation, Ekken goes on to suggest, among other things, walking at least several hundred paces after every meal, receiving massages (*anma* 按摩), and practicing

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[4] 火裏ヨリ咲キ出タラン蓮 (Yoshizawa 2001a: 208); cf. Yampolsky 1971: 37. This metaphor is borrowed from Yongjia Xuanjue's 永嘉玄覺 (665-713) *Zhengdao ge* 證道歌 (Song of Realizing the Way), see T51.2076.461a

[5] Ishikawa 1981: 30; noted in Kuriyama 1997a: 45.

dōin 導引 ("guiding and pulling") or gymnastics. What, then, is the proper attitude towards vital energy? Is one to guard against its depletion or its accumulation and stagnation? Like Hakuin, Ekken seems to be ultimately attempting to rise above this potential contradiction, but what we need to ask ourselves here is, *why*?

This question also happens to form the core of a recent essay written by Shigehisa Kuriyama.[6] In his attempt to make sense of a fairly common yet poorly understood ailment known as *katakori* 肩こり (stiff shoulder, shoulder tension, Schulterspannung?), an ailment that tends not to be readily translated into any other language,[7] Kuriyama first draws his reader's attention to the etymology of the latter half of this word, *kori*. As Kuriyama points out, *kori* is related to the word *kokoro* ("mind" or "heart") and both terms derive from the term, *kogoru* 凝る, which means, among other things, "to congeal, harden, freeze, solidify, or stiffen."[8] (In fact, *kokoro* had at one point referred not to the mind-and- heart but to the "solid" organ within one's abdomen, that is, the *zōfu* 臓腑 or entrails.) It should therefore come as no surprise to learn that expressions like *kata no kogori* 肩の凝り and *kata ga kogorite* 肩が凝りて were used by physicians during the Edo period to refer to a "stiffening," "hardening," or a "tension" that occurs as a prelude to something more serious like a stroke. But, as Kuriyama also points out, a far more common expression for an ailment in the shoulder among the general populace of the Edo was *kenpeki* or *kenbeki* 痃癖, a custom that curiously has no precedent in the medical literature of China. In fact, the frequency with which Edo period physicians expressed their reservations about using the term *kenpeki* to refer to a shoulder ailment in the seventeenth century, as Kuriyama suggests, seems to indicate that this custom was relatively new even in Japan.[9]

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[6] See Kuriyama 1997a; cf. Kuriyama 1997b.

[7] Kuriyama 1997a: 38.

[8] Kuriyama 1997a: 39.

[9] Kuriyama 1997a: 42.

If this is true, then there must be some reason why people began to experience this ailment at this particular juncture in Japanese history. Kuriyama claims to know why. When people began to complain about *kenpeki* during the Edo what they were beginning to experience, according to Kuriyama, was an "anxiety about stagnation" (*todokoori no fuan* 滞りの不安).[10] In fact, Kuriyama even goes so far as to call *kenpeki* an instance of "anxiety-turned-flesh" (*fuan no nikutaika* 不安の肉体化).[11] As an example of how commonplace this anxiety was during the Edo, Kuriyama mentions the physician Gotō Konzan's 後藤艮山 (1659-1733) bold claim that "the hundred illnesses all rise from the stagnation of a single vital energy"[12] and similar claims advanced, for instance, by Gotō's disciple Kagawa Shūan 香川修庵 (1683-1755) and in texts such as the *Dōin kuketsu shō* 導引口訣鈔 (1713) and *Kokon dōin shū* 古今導引集 (1709).[13] Kuriyama also finds the same concern at work in the *Yōjōkun*'s two-pronged theory of depletion and stagnation. This is not to say that the problem of stagnation, as Kuriyama is cautious to point out, was unknown to earlier medical sources from China, but why, he asks, do we not find a single source before the Edo that puts the problem of stagnation (at least) *on equal grounds* with that of depletion?[14] Even more puzzling, perhaps, is the ease with which the view (*kan* 観) or anxiety of

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[10] Kuriyama 1997a: 44.

[11] Kuriyama 1997a: 44.

[12] 百病生於一氣之留滞 (KKIS 13: 88); cited in Kuriyama 1997a: 44. For more on Gotō and his *kohō* 古方 school of medicine, see Fujikawa 2003: 155-159.

[13] Gotō and his disciple Kagawa are often referred to as the founders of the Koihō 古醫方 (Ancient Methods of Medicine) school of medicine. For the Koihō school of medicine, see Fujikawa 2003: 164 and Ozaki 1979: 196-240. Norman Ozaki rightly points out the problems of simply characterizing the Koihō physicians as reformist thinkers who called for a return to the pre-Song medical classics; Ozaki 1979: 216. For more information on Gotō and his clinical theories, see also Liang 1997. For Kagawa's theories on *kan* 癇 (psychosis?) and stagnation; see Hiruta 2002: 134-135.

[14] Kuriyama 1997a: 46.

stagnation came to be experienced (*kan* 感) as, among other things, ***kogori***, ***heki*** 癖, ***shaku*** 積, ***chō*** 癥, ***ketsu*** 結, ***ju*** 聚, ***ka*** 瘕, or ***sen*** 疝 in early modern Japan.[15]

Kuriyama first suggests that the wide acceptance of the view of stagnation may have something to do with the ethos of diligence (*kinben* 勤勉) that swept through the Tokugawa populace. As a larger backdrop against which one may make sense of this ethos, Kuriyama points to what Hayami Akira and Miyamoto Matao have called Japan's "industrious revolution" (*kinben kakumei* 勤勉革命) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[16] As another closely related factor in the rise of stagnation as a central trope in the imagination of the body, Kuriyama also points to the rhetoric of circulation (*junkan* 循環) or, to be more precise, cash circulation that began to appear in the writings of figures like Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 (1648-1724), a native of the thriving trade port of Nagasaki.[17] But in addition to these large-scale historical changes, Kuriyama believes that the newfound emphasis on abdominal diagnosis and massage therapy as a treatment for *kenpeki* played an important role in bringing the view (*kan*) of stagnation (*todokoori*) down to the level of flesh where it was experienced (*kan*) as a stiffening, hardening, or tension (*kogori*) in the body.[18]

According to Kuriyama, it is under these specific historical conditions that admonitions such as the following from the *Yōjōkun* came to be taken for granted:

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[15] See Kuriyama 1997a: 44; Tachikawa 1998: 57-67; and Shirasugi 1997. I will have more to say about these ailments later.

[16] Hayami and Miyamoto 1988: 36-37; for and English translation of this work, see Hayami, Saitō, and Toby 2004: 28, 44. Also note Matao Miyamoto's use of the word stagnation (*teitai* 停滞) to refer to the seemingly stunted growth in population during the mid-Tokugawa period; see Hayami and Miyamoto 1988: 52 (cf. Hayami, Saitō, and Toby 2004: 45). The label "industrious revolution," however, is by no means applicable only to early modern Japan. The historian Jan de Vries has recently used to the same label to refer to changes in household behavior in seventeenth to nineteenth century Europe where we find a tendency to reduce leisure time and reallocate labor from goods and services for direct consumption to marketed goods; see de Vries 1994.

[17] Kuriyama 1997a: 48-51.

[18] Kuriyama 1997a: 56.

> Some people might say, "the art of nourishing life is appropriate for old folks in retirement or the young who, having fled from the world, idly do nothing. For the samurai who must serve his lord and parents with loyalty and filial piety and cultivate himself with martial arts or for those farmers, artisans, and merchants who, having to devote themselves day and night to their family trade, have no time to spare nourishing life is difficult to accomplish." Such people claim that if one devotes oneself to the art of nourishing life one's body will become soft and one's skills will become dull and would thus prove to be of no use. These are the doubts of people who do not know the art of nourishing life—no wonder. To practice the art of nourishing life is not to idly do nothing. It is to quiet the mind and move the body. By having the body be idle the primordial energy will come to be stagnant and illness will arise. For example, this is just like [the saying] "flowing water does not putrefy and a door hinge does not rust."[19] What moves will endure, but what does not move will not live long. As such, the four class of citizens should all work diligently and not become indolent. This is precisely the art of nourishing life.[20]

Kuriyama is certainly right to contend that a subtle tension between two potentially conflicting views of nourishing life can be witnessed in this passage from the *Yōjōkun* and other related writings from the Edo period.[21] Although nourishing life was still associated primarily with the old ideal of storing up and guarding primordial energy in peace and tranquility, escalating anxieties about stagnation seem to have made hard work and

[19] 流水はくさらず、戸樞はくちざるが如し (Ishikawa 1981: 37). Kaibara later identifies the source of this passage as the *Jinshu* 盡數 (Fulfill the Number) chapter of the *Lushi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lu); Ishikawa 1981: 45. The passage from the *Lushi chunqiu* reads as follows: "flowing water does not putrefy and a door hinge does not rust—they move; form and vital energy are also like this" 流水不腐、 戸樞不蠹、 動也、 形氣亦然 (Chen 2002: 139). Kuriyama notes that this passage was frequently cited by masseuses during the Edo period and that it serves as proof of the awareness of the dangers of stagnation in early China; see Kuriyama 1997a: 45.

[20] Ishikawa 1981: 37; cited in Kuriyama 1997a: 51.

[21] Kuriyama 1997a: 52.

constant movement a desirable alternative to this old ideal. As the general ethos of the population shifted in this direction, Kuriyama also saw a parallel (but not necessarily causal) development on a more personal level that allowed the body to be *imagined* and *experienced* in a manner quite unlike before. But if these subtle changes did in fact occur simultaneously on both the macro-level of the ethos of a population and the micro-level of the individual's body during Hakuin's own lifetime, it behooves us to give some thought to the following question: was Hakuin's work on the malady of meditation involved in any way with this anxiety about stagnation? The answer, as we shall see, is *yes*, but I would like to suggest that the malady of meditation is better understood as an anxiety not so much about stagnation as about its cure, labor (*rō* 勞), and about its cause, exhaustion (*rō* 勞).

Elixirs and the Art of Nourishing Life

Much of what we know about Hakuin's views on the art of nourishing life, which he attributes to the obscure hermit Hakuyū, come from his *Yasenkanna*. It is unclear as to when exactly Hakuin wrote this popular work, but we do know that the *Yasenkanna* first appeared in printed form as part of a lengthy commentary entitled the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* 寒山詩闡提記聞 published in 1746.[22] In this truly astonishing work of exegesis,[23] Hakuin uses the *Yasenkanna* as an extended commentary on a poem from a larger work traditionally attributed to the legendary Tang poet Hanshan. The message of the poem in question is rather simple: "nurture" (*yi* 益) your essence (*jing* 精), "change" (*yi* 易) your physical form (*xing* 形), and this will allow you to cheat death and become an immortal

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[22] HOZ 4: 108-197. Rikugawa was the first to suggest that this version of the *Yasenkanna* might be the first edition of the text; see Rikugawa 1963: 197. However, the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* specifically cites the *Yasenkanna* by name and records that many disciples fought to make copies of the text. According to the copy of the *Yasenkanna* housed at Waseda University (item # ヤ09 00295), Ogawa Genbei's print shop, Yūshōdō 友松堂, was located on Rokkakusagaru, Teramachidōri 寺町通六角下ル in Kyoto. The woodblocks were carved in Kyoto by Ryūshiken 柳枝軒.

[23] Rikugawa Taiun even calls it Hakuin's masterpiece (*hakubi* 白眉); Rikugawa 1963: 197.

(*xian* 仙).[24] Few, I suspect, would hesitate to either loosely or strongly associate this poem with Daoist ideas of immortality and its allied technologies, but the poem, Hakuin claims, was intended as a *criticism* of the alchemical arts (*renka no jutsu* 錬鍜術) of the gentlemen of the Way (*daoshi* 道士), that is, the Daoists.

Having thus clarified the "true" purpose of Hanshan's poem, Hakuin then attempts to establish an alternative genealogy for the former's thoughts on nourishing life. This he does by forging a link between the poem and a passage from the Chinese medical classic, *Suwen* 素問 (Pure Questions) of the *Huangdi neijing* 黄帝内經 (The Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon), which reads as follows: "Tranquilly content in vacuous nothingness, [the sages] were accompanied by true vital energy; their essence and spirit being guarded from within, whence would illness come forth?"[25] Due to the lack of corroborative evidence there is no way to know for sure whether this is indeed what Hanshan had in mind when he composed his poem, but what Hakuin was able to accomplish by coupling Hanshan's poem with the *Suwen* passage cited above was to give some credence to the idea that nurturing essence and changing physical form is an art that is practiced internally and not, as the Daoists would have it, externally in a laboratory.[26] This, Hakuin claims, is Hanshan's real message.[27] The general purport of his own *Yasenkanna*, he hastens to add, is also consistent with this understanding.

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[24] For the poem, see Iritani and Matsumura 1970: 115-116. As Iritani Sensuke and Matsumura Takashi point out, this poem seems to contradict the anti-immortalist views (*han shinsen shisō* 反神仙思想) found in other poems from the same collection.

[25] 恬惰虛無、真氣從之、精神内守、病安從來 (Yu 1994, vol. 1: 13b); cf. Veith 1972: 98. Hakuin credits Hakuyū as the source from which he learned of this passage; see HOZ 4: 116; Yoshizawa 2000a: 135-136; cf. Waddell 2002: 111. See also the *Oradegama* (Yoshizawa 2001a: 230).

[26] In his *Yasenkanna*, Hakuin describes the completion of the elixir as the "overturning of the elixir furnace" (*tansō wo kenpon suru* 丹竈を掀翻する); Yoshizawa 2000a: 123. According to Yoshizawa's gloss, this expression is used here to refer to the fact that one need not seek an external drug of immortality once the nourishment of vital energy in the body is complete; Yoshizawa 2000a: 124 n. 8.

[27] Curiously, in other sources such as the *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Record of Great Peace), Hanshan is also remembered as having instructed a Daoist to "make the mind face upward

Although Hakuin was clearly intent on distinguishing his own views on nourishing life from that of Daoist (external) alchemy and aligning it instead with the *Suwen*, his references to the work of Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (ca. 1194-1229), a renowned scholar of Daoist thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法) and alchemy, seems to belie such intentions.[28] In the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* and other writings, Hakuin, for instance, cites the following teaching attributed to Bai:

> The essential thing for nourishing life is to strengthen the physical frame. The secret of strengthening the physical frame lies in concentrating the spirit. When one concentrates the spirit, the energy accumulates. When the energy accumulates the elixir is formed. When the elixir is formed the physical frame becomes firm. When the physical frame is firm the spirit is perfected.[29]

Fearing, perhaps, a gross misunderstanding of his true intentions, Hakuin pulled this reference to Bai out of the body of the vulgate edition of the *Yasenkanna*, published in 1757,[30] and moved it to the preface where it came to be simply referred to as "the

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within and regulate one's conduct without," which will then allow the practitioner to produce an external elixir (*waidan* 外丹); Baldrian-Hussein 1989-1990: 173.

[28] For more information on Bai, see Miyakawa 1978 and Berling 1993. For Bai's contributions to alchemy scholarship, see Skar 2003 and Suzuki T. 2003. Hakuin also mentions Bai by name in his letter to Nabeshima and cites the above teaching; see Yoshizawa 2001a: 224; see also Yampolsky 1971: 42-43. Although Bai is frequently cited when speaking of the so-called inner alchemy tradition (*neidan* 内丹) of the Southern Lineage, Hakuin himself does not seem to have made this association. In fact, there is no evidence in Hakuin's writings to suggest that, when speaking of Daoist alchemy, he was aware of a distinction between an inner and external alchemy tradition. For the term *neidan* (and its complex relation to the term *waidan*), see Baldrian-Hussein 1989-1990.

[29] 養生之要、先不若錬形、錬形之妙在乎凝神、神凝則氣聚、氣聚則丹成、丹成則形固、形固則神全 (HOZ 4: 114 and Yoshizawa 2001a: 224); trans. Yampolsky 1971: 42-43. This quote can indeed be found in the *Haiqiong wendao ji* 海瓊問答集 (Collection of Questions and Answers by Haiqiong), a collection of sayings attributed to Bai prepared and printed by his disciples in 1218; see CT1308. The *Haiqiong wendao ji* was included in the official Daoist canon printed in 1445. The bulk of the canon made its way to Japan through Nagasaki during the Tokugawa period. The earliest reference to the canon appears in *Shōhaku sairai shomoku* 商舶載來書目 (Catalogs of Books Imported by Merchant Vessels) of 1695; Masuo 2004: 834; cf. Barrett 1994.

[30] Hakuin had sent a clean copy of the manuscript to Ogawa Genbei on the twenty-ninth day of the first month of 1757 and, as Yoshizawa Katsuhiro shows, Hakuin himself saw the completed product four months later in the fifth month of that same year; Yoshizawa 2000a: 245-247.

immortals' secret formula for the ninefold cyclically-transformed elixir" (*sennin kyūten gentan no hiketsu* 仙人九轉還丹の秘訣).[31] Lest there be any lingering misunderstandings, Hakuin also made sure to add the caveat that an elixir in this context does not refer to something external to the body.[32] While Hakuin may have thus clarified his position (again) with regards to Daoist alchemy, this emphasis on the need to accumulate vital energy *in* the body seems to have served as the catalyst for another potential source of anxiety and criticism, namely stagnation. This, I suspect, is why Hakuin, for instance, voiced the following concern in his *Yasenkanna*: "if I control the mind and [fix] it to a single place, would there not be stagnation of vital energy and blood?"[33]

If we examine what the hermit Hakyū had purportedly imparted to Hakuin during their encounter in the outskirts of Kyoto, we see that Hakuin had good reason to be concerned about the risk of stagnation. As a remedy for his malady of meditation, Hakuyū had instructed the ailing Hakuin to store what in the *Mengzi* 孟子 is referred to as the "flood-like vital energy" (*kōzen no ki* 浩然の氣) in his cinnabar field, the ocean of vital energy located below the navel (*zairin kikai tanden* 臍輪氣海丹田).[34] The old hermit had

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[31] Yoshizawa 2000a: 94; cf. Waddell 2002: 95. Hakuin attributes this same teaching to four other figures: Shitai 石臺, Wu Qichu 呉契初, Guangchengzi 廣成子 (a mythological figure that appears in the *Zhuangzi* as the Yellow Emperor's teacher), and Bodhidharma; noted in Yoshizawa 2000a: 121 n. 1. The identities of Shitai and Wu Qichu have yet to be established, but I suspect that Shitai may actually refer to Shitai 石泰 (d. 1158), a minor official from Shaanxi who is often described as having received alchemical teachings from Zhang Boduan 張伯端, the reputed author of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (Chapters on Awakening to Perfection). In his writings, Bai Yuchan had attempted to forge a link between himself and Zhang through Shitai; see Skar 2003.

[32] Yoshizawa 2000a: 94; cf. Waddell 2002: 95. Hakuin makes the same caveat after citing Bai and his teaching in his letter to Nabeshima; see Yoshizawa 2001a: 225; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 43.

[33] 制心於一處、無氣血滯礙乎 (HOZ 4: 114). Hakuin raises this concern in the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* immediately after citing Bai. Although Bai's teaching was eventually moved to the preface, Hakuin made no changes to this reference to stagnation in the vulgate edition of the *Yasenkanna* (Yoshizawa 2000a: 126-127); cf. Waddell 2002: 107.

[34] Yoshizawa 2000a: 123; cf. Waddell 2002: 106. In his letter to Nabeshima, Hakuin offers the following description of the cinnabar field (*tanden*) and ocean of vital energy (*kikai*):

> The *kikai* is the treasure house where the vital energy is accumulated and nurtured; the *tanden* is the castle town where the divine elixir is distilled and the life span preserved. .

also reassured Hakuin that guarding this vital energy single-mindedly and nourishing it unwaveringly for months and years will eventually allow him to turn everything into a single, great cyclically-transformed elixir (*gentan* 還丹).[35] Once the refinement of this elixir in the cinnabar field is complete, the body will be replete with vital energy and, as the *Suwen* claims, there will be no place from which illness can arise. This, Hakuyū reveals to Hakuin, is the secret technique of inner contemplation (*naikan*). But why must one "store" and "guard" one's vital energy in the cinnabar field and risk stagnation to create such an elixir? According to Hakuyū, one must do so because fire tends to rise upwards and deprive the body of its vital energy. And fire tends to rise, Hakuyū explains, because the mind, the *yang* organ of fire, is by nature light and the kidney, the *yin* organ of water, is by nature heavy.[36] In order for one to replenish the body with vital energy, one must therefore strive to bring the fire back down into the lower body where it can intermingle with the tranquil water of the kidneys. Hakuin, however, had yet to be convinced: "Is this not what Li Shicai called the partiality for cooling and descending?"[37]

With a gentle smile Hakuyū is said to have replied, "not so." As he rightly points out, when Li Zhongzi 李中梓 (1588-1655), otherwise known as Shicai 士才, speaks of "the partiality for cooling and descending" (*seigō no hen* 清降の偏) he is actually referring to the lopsided understanding of the followers of the famed Chinese physician and scholar Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 (1281-1358), otherwise known as Danxi 丹溪.[38] The

. . The *kikai* is situated in the body at a position lower than that of the five internal organs and ceaselessly stores up the true energy. Eventually the divine elixir is perfected and the status of an immortal is achieved. The *tanden* is located in three places in the body, but the one to which I refer is the lower *tanden*. The *kikai* and *tanden* are both located below the navel; they are in actuality one thing although they have two names. The *tanden* is situated two inches below the navel, the *kikai* an inch and a half below it, and it is in this area that true energy always accumulates (Yoshizawa 2001a: 225; trans. Yampolsky 1971: 43).

[35] Yoshizawa 2000a: 123; cf. Waddell 2002: 106.

[36] Yoshizawa 2000a: 112; cf. Waddell 2002: 102.

[37] Yoshizawa 2000a: 126-127; Waddell 2002: 107.

fault, Shicai states unequivocally in this *Yizong bidu* 醫宗必讀 (Necessary Readings in the Medical Tradition), does not necessarily lie in Danxi himself, whose theories are meant to supplement those of a renowned physician by the name of Li Dongyuan 李東垣 (1180-1251), but in the unscrupulous way in which students tend to misappropriate Danxi's clinical strategies.[39] In fact, with regards to the issue of fire and water Shicai seems to be largely in agreement with Danxi that "the nature of fire is to burn upward and must therefore be made to descend; the nature of water is to descend and must therefore be made to ascend."[40] Fire and water, he claims, must intermingle (*jiao* 交) to create life. Otherwise, one must be prepared to face death.[41]

What Hakuyū offered in response to Hakuin's concerns about the dangers of cooling and descending was a faithful reproduction of the above explanation from the *Yizong bidu*. This seems to have done the trick, as we find no further concerns raised by Hakuin regarding the issue of cooling and descending. What is curiously missing from the hermit's response, however, is an answer for Hakuin's other major concern, namely stagnation. What we have, instead, is this simple observation:

> Fire has the two aspects of princely and ministerial. Princely fire dwells above and governs quietude and ministerial fire is located below and governs activity. Princely fire is the lord of this [actually] non-dualistic mind and ministerial fire lends ministerial support. There are two types of ministerial fire and they are said to be [located, respectively, in] the kidneys and the liver. The liver can be compared to thunder and the kidneys to a dragon. For this reason it is said, "if the dragon is returned to the depths of the ocean there will never be crashing thunder. If thunder is hidden in the marshes there will never be a soaring

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[38] Yoshizawa 2000a: 128; cf. Waddell 2002: 108.

[39] See Li 1957: 4

[40] 火性炎上、故宜使之下、水性就下、故宜使之上 (Li 1957: 8).

[41] This entire passage from the *Yizong bidu* is faithfully reproduced in the *Yasenkanna*; see Yoshizawa 2000a: 127-128; cf. Waddell 2002: 108.

dragon. Are the ocean and marshes not water?" Does this not speak of controlling the tendency of the ministerial fire to rise?[42]

Given Hakuyū's penchant to name as many authoritative sources as possible in the *Yasenkanna*, his failure to mention the source from which he acquired this statement about the relation between princely fire (*kunka* 君火) and ministerial fire (*shōka* 相火) stands out as a conspicuous silence.[43] That this passage closely resembles the account of fire found in Danxi's *Gezhi yulun* 格到餘論 (Further Discourses of Investigation and Inquiry), I suspect, might be one reason why no mention is made of its source.

Indeed, in the *Gezhi yulun* we find a very similar account of the relation between princely and ministerial fire.[44] Here, a simple synopsis of Danxi's account will hopefully suffice. According to Danxi, the supreme ultimate (*taiji* 太極) when active (*dong* 動) produces *yang* and when quiescent (*jing* 靜) produces *yin*. All movement (*dong*), he claims, is governed by fire. Unlike the other four phases (i.e., water, wood, metal, and earth), fire is said to have not one but two natures (*xing* 性), the princely and the

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[42] Yoshizawa 2000a: 129; cf. Waddell 2002: 108.

[43] As Catherine Despeux points out, the separation of fire into sovereign and ministerial fire, associated respectively with the mind-and-heart and (right) kidney, fire and water, seems to have been made possible by the development and medical implementation of the system of the five circulatory phases and six seasonal influences (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣) in the Song. She argues convincingly that fire was split in two in order to have the five (now "six") circulatory phases—not to be confused with the five phases (*wuxing* 五行)—match the six seasonal influences. As she also points out, this new system seems to have also triggered an innovation in physiology: in the Song fire came to be associated not only with the heart (sovereign fire) but also with the kidney (ministerial fire), as a result of which physicians came to recognize the existence of two separate kidneys (left associated with water and the right with the *mingmen* 命門 or "gate of life" and ministerial fire); see Despeux 2001: 150. She also sets this separation against the background of the emergence of similar, but by no means identical, ideas in Daoist "internal" alchemy. Although Despeux suspects that the association of sovereign fire with the mind-and-heart was borrowed from Buddhism, there seems to be no direct evidence for this claim; see Despeux 2001: 151.

[44] The following synopsis is based on the "Discourse on Ministerial Fire" (*Xianghuo lun* 相火論) in the *Gezhi yulun*; see Zhu 1936: 34-36. See also the excellent discussion of Danxi in Furth 1999: 145-154. As Furth points out, for Danxi, fire had less to do with pathogenic environmental *qi* (of the *wuyun liuqi* system) than with the metaphysical theories of Zhu Xi; see Furth 1999: esp. 147. More on this later.

ministerial. The former, Danxi explains, refers to the external manifestation of movement as *yang* (e.g. form and vital energy) and the latter to its internal emergence from vacuity (*xuwu* 虛無) as *yin*. It is, in other words, ministerial fire and hence quiescent *yin* that serves as the original seat (*wei* 位) of all movement and activity. In fact, without ministerial fire, Heaven is said to be unable to produce things and people are unable to have life. The fire of Heaven (*tianhuo* 天火), Danxi explains, comes from wood in the liver, which he likens to dragon and thunder, and also from water in the kidneys. If thunder, he claims, is not hidden (*fu* 伏), the dragon not hibernating (*zhi* 蟄), and water not attached to the earth then they will not be able to cry, fly, or create waves, which means that there will be no movement and no fire. For movement to be constructive and productive one must therefore make sure that ministerial fire is functioning properly in the *yin* regions of the kidneys and liver. All the more so, Danxi claims, since ministerial fire is very easily stirred (*xianghuo yi qi* 相火易起). If and when ministerial fire does stir Danxi warns that the *yin* in the kidneys and liver will become depleted. And when *yin* is depleted then there is illness (*yinxu ze bing* 陰虛則病). What, then, is one to do when ministerial fire does stir?

Danxi himself found an answer to this question in the writings of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073) and Zhu Xi. Danxi first cites Zhou: "The sage regulates [himself] with the mean, correctness, love, and righteousness and governs with quietude."[45] Then he cites Zhu Xi: "One must always have the mind of the Way serve as the lord of the body and have the mind of men listen to its mandate at all times."[46] If we follow these

[45] 聖人定之以中正仁義而主靜 (Zhu 1936: 35). This line appears in Zhou's explanation of his famous *taiji* diagram, the *Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說; see Chen 1990: 6. For an English translation of the *Taiji tushuo*, see Fung 1953: 435-438. Zhou explains activity (*dong*) and quietude (*jing*) in the great ultimate as *yang* and *yin* respectively; Chen 1990: 1 and 3. In translating *zhujing* 主靜 as "governing *with* quietude" I follow Danxi's own reading, *zhu zhi yi jing* 主之以靜 or "govern it with quietude" (Zhu 1936: 35). According to Zhu Xi's gloss of this passage, governing with quietude means to not have desire (*wuyu* 無欲); see Chen 1990: 6; cf. Fung 1953: 437 n. 4.

[46] 必使道心常為一身之主而人心每聽命焉 (Zhu 1936: 35). This passage is quoted from Zhu Xi's preface to his commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean, *Zhongyong zhangju xu* 中庸章句序; see Suzuki et al. 1974: 449 and 12.

instructions, Danxi argues that ministerial fire can then be made to support creation and transformation (*zaohua* 造化) and function tirelessly in the production of life. In other words, for one to be healthy and productive, princely fire in the mind-and-heart, or what Danxi identifies as the fire of man (*renhuo* 人火), must be made to listen to the ministerial fire in the kidneys, otherwise known as the fire of Heaven, and ministerial fire itself, in turn, must be made to accord with the Way by governing it with quietude.

Something, however, is amiss here. Hakuyū, we may recall, had claimed that ministerial fire governs activity (*dō wo tsukasadoru* 動をつかさどる) whereas princely fire governs quietude (*jō wo tsukasadoru* 靜を主る). Nowhere, however, does Danxi, to my knowledge, advance this particular claim. Even if he did, it is difficult to imagine how he would then reconcile this claim with his aforementioned association of princely fire with *yang* and thus with activity. And what about the claim that ministerial fire governs activity? Is it not the case that Danxi had primarily associated ministerial fire with *yin* and thus with quietude? He did indeed, but he also saw *yin* as the indisputable source of *yang*. Only with the support of the ministerial fire fastened and hidden securely in the quietude of *yin* was it possible for *yang*, governed by the princely fire of the mind-and-heart, to be productive rather than destructive. It was, in fact, this subordination of *yang* to *yin*—a subversion of their "conventional" relation—that made Danxi's clinical strategy so unique.

Was Hakuyū's claim that princely fire governs quietude in the upper body, then, a simple misreading of Danxi or an innocuous embellishment that he made in order to maintain a sense of symmetry? The fact that the above claim is never again made in the *Yasenkanna*, or any other work by Hakuin for that matter, seems to suggest that this might indeed be the case. One could even argue, I suppose, that the association of princely fire with quietude was a simple slip of the tongue. If so, then the slip, I would argue, was a significant one. For, the question of activity and quietude enjoyed pride of place in Hakuin's vision of Zen. One need only recall, for instance, his frequent references to meditative-work in the mist of activity as genuine Zen and his claim that meditative-work in the midst of quietude is prone to give rise to the malady of meditation. For these and

other reasons I would like to suggest that the association of princely fire and hence the mind-and-heart with quietude in the *Yasenkanna* provides us with an important clue to understanding Hakuin's illness and his concerns about stagnation. To test this hypothesis, we now turn to Hakuin's account of his illness (or *zenbyō*) and its relation to the problem of quietude in Zen.

Labor or Exhaustion (*rō*)?

Let us start with some questions. How did Hakuin sense the onset of his illness? How did it feel and why did this sensation alarm him? Even at the very outset some will certainly find these questions objectionable. How could the didactic and polemical writings of Hakuin offer us a transparent picture of his thoughts, let alone his experiences and sensations? I, for one, do not assume that they do. But I do believe that it is possible to gain an accurate picture of what Hakuin had hoped and yet *failed* to experience in his portrayal of the onset of his illness. If anywhere, it is, I would insist, in this constitutive gap between experience and expectation that we must locate Hakuin's illness. I will return to why I call this gap "constitutive" in a moment, but let us first take a closer look at Hakuin's narrative of the onset of his illness.

One night, after two or three years of painstaking effort, Hakuin tells us in the *Yasenkanna* that he suddenly "lost" (*rakusetsu* 落節) himself in a single instant.[47] Needless to say, he was ecstatic, but this overwhelming sense of joy may have been a bit premature and perhaps even misguided. "Afterwards," he tells us, "reflecting upon my daily behavior, [I noticed that] the two realms of activity and quietude were completely out of balance and that my movements were not completely unconstrained."[48] What Hakuin noticed, in other words, was that he could remain calm and focused during meditative-work in the midst of quietude but not when he returned to the hustling and bustling world of everyday

[47] 精錬刻苦する者既に兩三霜、乍ち一夜忽然として落節す (Yoshizawa 2002a: 98); cf. Waddell 2002: 96. As Yoshizawa points out, "lost" here more commonly refers to the "loss" of profit; Yoshizawa 2002a: 98 n. 2.

[48] 向後日用を廻顧するに、動静の二境全く調和せず、去就の兩邊總に脱洒ならず (Yoshizawa 2002a: 99); cf. Waddell 2002: 97.

life.[49] Determined to find true awakening, Hakuin resolved to forego sleep and food to continue his original quest. Before long, however, a fire mounted in his upper body and he suffered from, among other things, cold feet, ringing in the ears, fear, fatigue, constant sweating, depression, and unstoppable production of tears in his eyes.[50] A cure was desperately needed, so Hakuin traveled far and wide to consult noted Zen masters and physicians about his predicament. But all to no avail. Fortunately, Hakuin was able to learn of the old recluse Hakuyū from whom he eventually received the following diagnosis: "Alas! The method of your discernment went beyond measure, the advancement in practice lost regulation, and this grave illness has thereby come about; truly, what is difficult to cure medically is your malady of meditation."[51]

In his preface to the *Yasenkanna*, Hakuin also tells us that his students at Shōinji had undergone an uncannily similar experience. They too, according to Hakuin, had gone beyond measure in their investigation of Zen and lost regulation in their practice of austerities (*seiku* 清苦).[52] As a result, they injured and dried up their lungs and consequently gave rise to a serious ailment most difficult to cure. Curiously, Hakuin gives this ailment many names. In the preface alone we find, for instance, a reference to intestinal bloating (*senheki* 疝癖), lump pain (*kaitsū* 塊痛),[53] the accumulation of vital energy in the five *zang* and six *fu* (*goshaku rokushu* 五積六聚), the depletion of vital energy

[49] This gloss of Hakuin's reflection on the disjunction between activity and quietude is found in the *Chronological Biography of Hakuin*; Katō 1985: 114; cf. Waddell 1994: 130.

[50] Yoshizawa 2001a: 193-195; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 31-32. See also the account the *Yasenkanna* (Yoshizawa 2002a: 99-100).

[51] 已哉、觀理度に過ぎ、進修節を失して、終に此の重症を發す、實に醫治し難きものは、公の禪病なり (Yoshizawa 2000a: 108); cf. Waddell 2002: 100.

[52] Yoshizawa 2000a: 81; cf. Waddell 2002: 89.

[53] In his *Oniazami*, Hakuin likened the lump pain that he himself experienced to a ball (*kyūsu* 毬子) that moved up and down in his chest; see Yoshizawa 1999b: 233.

(*kikyo* 氣虚), fatigue (*rōeki* 勞役), and, last but not least, the malady of meditation.[54] But what does this list of ailments tell us about the malady of meditation? Are theses ailments related and, if so, how? And how, we may ask, do they relate to the disjunction between activity and quietude? At first sight they seem disparate and unrelated to each other, but upon closer inspection we will see that these ailments are, in fact, rooted in a common problem, and that problem is exhaustion.

Let us begin with intestinal bloating or *senheki*, otherwise known more commonly as *sen* or *senki* 疝氣. According to Manase Dōsan's 曲直瀬道三 (1507-1594) influential medical treatise *Keitekishū* 啓迪集 (Collection of Inspirational [Writings]) published in 1574, *senki* refers to a sharp pain in the testicles and small intestines that is caused by prolonged stagnation (*utsu* 鬱) of damp heat in a channel known as *ketsuin* 厥陰 (which flows from the toes to the liver).[55] Although Dōsan is largely responsible for the wide acceptance of this view all the way down to the level of the village doctor (*machi isha* 町医者) during the Edo,[56] he cannot and does not ultimately take credit for this theory of *senki*. The credit, in fact, goes to Danxi.[57] Going against the well-established practice of attributing *senki* to the intrusion of cold energy (*hanqi* 寒氣), Danxi had indeed argued in his *Gezhi yulun* that *senki* (C. *shanqi*) was caused by the stagnation of damp heat in the *jueyin* channel. But that is not all. He also made sure to add that a stagnation of this sort occurs because of a depletion created by the stirring of fire in the body.[58] One did not, however, have to subscribe to Danxi's or Dōsan's clinical theories to understand *senki* as a

[54] Yoshizawa 2000a: 81 and 87; cf. Waddell 2002: 89 and 92.

[55] KKIS 2: 410-411.

[56] See Shirasugi 1997: 69.

[57] See KKIS 2: 7-50; Fujikawa 2003: 124-134; and Ozaki 1979: 51-60. The transmission of Danxi's teachings to Japan is usually attributed to Dōsan's teacher Tashiro Sanki 田代三喜 (1465-1537) who encountered Danxi's theories during a twelve-year visit to China (1486-1498). Sanki, Dōsan, and their followers came to be known as the Goseiha 後世派.

[58] See Zhu 1936: 26-27. An almost identical definition of *sen* can be found in Nagoya Gen'i's 名古屋玄醫 (1628-1696) *Ihō monyo* 醫方問餘 (Questions about the Methods of Medicine); see KKIS 102: 154-155.

problem of depletion. In his dictionary of medical terminology, *Byōmei ikai* 病名彙解 (Explanation of the Names and Terminology of Illness) published in 1686, the physician Ashikawa Keishū 蘆川桂洲 (d.u.) also defines *senki* as a pain in the small intestines caused by the depletion and weakening (*kyojaku* 虚弱) of blood and vital energy and the consequent accumulation (*shaku*) of *yin* and cold energy in the body.[59] Like Dōsan, Ashikawa does not take credit for this theory. As he duly notes in his entry for *senki*, his source was Chao Yuanfang's 巣元方 (fl. 605-616) encyclopedic work on medicine, *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論 (Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Various Illnesses).[60]

In the *Byōmei ikai*'s definition of the compound *shakuju* 積聚, we also find another reference to the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*.[61] The first half of the compound, *shaku*, we are told, refers to an accumulation (*tsumu* 積) in the five *zang* and the latter half, *ju*, to an accumulation (*tsumu*) in the six *fu*. We are also told that this accumulation is often lodged somewhere in the body and causes pain (*tsū* 痛). *Shakuju*, however, seems to have been more than just the name of an ailment. It also seems to function as the name of an ailment *type* (*rui* 類). According to the *Byōmei ikai*, the ailment *chōka* 癥瘕 (intestinal growth), for instance, is said to be of the same type as *shakuju*,[62] and the ailment *kekkai* 血塊 ("lump of menstrual blood") is said to be of the same type as *chōka*.[63] But *shakuju* itself is not likened to any other ailment. By no means, however, was the *Byōmei ikai* alone in grouping these various ailments under the rubric of *shakuju*. The *Keitekishū* also defines *shakuju* as an

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[59] KKIS 64: 678-680. Indeed, According to the *Byōmei ikai*, *senki* in common parlance also refers to the release of gas (*shimokaze* 下風). As Shirasugi points out, this idea dates as far back as the Muromachi period; see Shirasugi 1997: 77.

[60] For the reference in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, see Yu 1994, vol. 1: 982b.

[61] KKIS 64: 599.

[62] KKIS 64: 187.

[63] KKIS 64: 394.

accumulation in the five *zang* and six *fu*. It even informs us that *kenpeki*, *shakuju*, and *chōka* are different names for the same ailment.[64] *Kai* 塊 or "lump" is also discussed as an instance of *shakuju* or accumulation.[65]

In China, the reigning view on accumulation, as Kuriyama points out, is captured almost perfectly in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*: accumulation stems from the lack of harmony in *yin* and *yang* and the consequent depletion and weakening of the *zang* and *fu*.[66] When Hakuin spoke of suffering from intestinal bloating, lump pain, and accumulation he probably had something very similar in mind. In point of fact, Hakuin, we may recall, had gone to great lengths in his *Yasenkanna* to demonstrate that the depletion or, more specifically, the depletion of *yin* does indeed lie at the root of the malady of meditation. But, what are we to make of the last ailment, fatigue? According to the *Byōmei ikai*, the depletion of *yin* and the movement of ministerial fire are symptoms of fatigue (*rōeki*),[67] and fatigue itself is a symptom of exhaustion (*rōgai* 勞咳).[68] What, in turn, causes exhaustion? The *Byōmei ikai* mentions two possible causes: one can either become exhausted by injuring vital energy and blood through their excessive use (*rō*) or by going beyond measure in consuming alcohol and sex.[69] The consequences of exhaustion were dire. Exhaustion could manifest itself either as panting, phlegm, heat, coughing up of

[64] KKIS 2: 297.

[65] KKIS 2: 299. In speaking of *kai*, Dōsan again cites Danxi who defines *kai* (C. *kuai*) as "an object with form" 有形之物 and identifies it as phlegm, accumulation of food, and dead blood in the second fascicle of his *Jinkui gouxuan* 金匱鉤玄.

[66] Kuriyama 1997a: 45. For the reference in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, see Yu 1994, vol. 1: 975a.

[67] 陰虛火動、或ハ腎虛火動ト云リ、腎水虛損シ相火亢リ動クコトナリ、虛勞ノ症ナリ (KKIS 64: 88).

[68] KKIS 64: 536.

[69] 或ハ氣血ヲ勞レ傷シ或ハ酒色過度シテ (KKIS 64: 536). A similar definition of exhaustion can also be found in the *Enju satsuyō*; see KKIS 6: 412 or 482.

blood, sweating, or the loss of essence (i.e., sperm). Simply put, exhaustion is "a symptom most difficult to cure."[70]

Hakuin's response to exhaustion was twofold. First, he advised those around him to bring the mind below as would a sagely lord while governing his people. Or, as Hakuin himself puts it, "when you focus your mind below you will never forget the people's exhaustion (*rōhi* 勞疲)."[71] According to the *Yasenkanna*, there are two excellent ways of bringing the mind down into the lower body, namely the aforementioned inner contemplation technique and what Hakuin calls the soft butter pill (*nansogan* 輭酥丸) method. In a letter to a sick monk, Hakuin prescribes the latter as a cure for depletion and weakening (*kyojaku*) and also for the exhaustion of the mind's vital energy (*shinki no rōhi* 心氣ノ勞疲).[72] His instruction for this method is relatively simple. If one contemplates a ball of soft butter, the size of a duck's egg, flowing down from the top of their head to the soles of their feet, then they will, Hakuin claims, find that the accumulations in the five *zang* and six *fu*, intestinal bloating, and lump pain in their chests will descend with the mind just as water flows to a lower place.[73] This contemplation is to be continued several times over. As the overflow of butter accumulates (*tsumori tatae* 積湛へ) and steeps the body in warmth, the mind and body will, according to Hakuin, return to harmonious balance and the various accumulations (*shakuju*) will be instantly dissolved.[74] Lest there be any mistake about the authenticity of the soft butter pill, Hakuin insists that the method

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[70] 難治ノ症 (KKIS 64: 536).

[71] Yoshizawa 2001a: 228-229; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 44.

[72] Yoshizawa 2001: 338; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 84. In the *Yasenkanna* the soft butter pill method is also recommended for those who suffer from exhaustion (*rōhi*); Yoshizawa 2000a: 141 (cf. Waddell 2002: 113).

[73] Yoshizawa 2001: 341; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 85. See also the *Yasenkanna*; Yoshizawa 2000a: 141 (cf. Waddell 2002: 113-114).

[74] Yoshizawa 2001: 342; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 85.

was devised by the Buddha himself and used by the monk Tiantai Zhiyi to treat "the serious ailment of exhaustion" (*rōhi no jūa* 勞疲ノ重痾).[75]

Are we then to conclude that exhaustion is to be cured by bringing the mind down into the lower body? Can we, as Hakuin claims, use "benign" accumulation to fight the "malign" accumulations caused by exhaustion and depletion? Hakuin seems to be suggesting that we can, but he also offers an alternative therapeutic strategy and this strategy is nothing like what we have seen so far. If we examine his letter to the ailing nuns Jōshōmeiin no miya and her younger sibling Jōmeishin'in no miya we find the following explanation of the malady of meditation:

> Above all else, the practitioner should be weary of the malady of meditation. If even for a moment there arises the thought that the fascinating sensations [produced by] the clearing of the mind in quietude are enjoyable on account of this malady, then this is the practitioner's attachment to the taste of meditation and thus a great obstruction of the demonic realm and must therefore be abandoned. Everyday, little by little, doing the kind of work that will gradually release sweat is an exceptional form of nourishing life. It is also an expedient means of significantly enhancing the power of concentration and thereby making the mind and body strong and firm. In order to make a living commoners everyday endure suffering and pain in their hands and feet. Among these folks there are none who possess illness such as headaches (*zutsū* 頭痛), intestinal bloating (*senki*), exhaustion (*rōgai*), and costiveness (*tsukae* つかえ).[76]

As the daughters of a former emperor and the abbesses of imperial convents in Kyoto, neither Jōshōmeiin no miya nor Jōmeishin'in no miya would have been accustomed to personally carrying out physical labor of any kind, but what Hakuin recommends for their illness is precisely that—physical labor. With their delicate hands, he asks them to pick up a broom and, instead of assigning the work to their servants, sweep the monastic grounds

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[75] Yoshizawa 2001: 342-343; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 86.

[76] Yoshizawa 1999b: 166-167.

themselves.[77] Physical labor had many benefits. First, Hakuin claims that cleaning (*sōji* 掃地) and manual labor (*samu* 作務) are no different from seated meditation. Also, by engaging in such work one can avoid the lure of quietude and cultivate what Hakuin calls the "meditative powers of manual labor in activity" (*dōyō samu no jōriki* 動搖ノ力) instead. And last but not least, physical labor, he claims, is an excellent means of nourishing life and maintaining good health.[78]

Is Hakuin contradicting himself here? Which cure, in other words, is one to use to treat exhaustion (*rō*)—labor (*rō*) or inner contemplation? These questions bring us back to the opening comments of this chapter. For Hakuin, the art of nourishing life seems to have consisted of two potentially conflicting views. Hakuin, on the one hand, insists that one should accumulate primordial energy by bringing the mind down into the lower body, but on the other hand he also insists that one should fight against its accumulation and stagnation through physical labor and meditative-work in the midst of activity. (As an example of this kind of meditative-work, Hakuin was fond of citing Baizhang's famous maxim, "a day without work is a day without food."[79]) Both views received an equal amount of attention in Hakuin's large corpus of writings and neither can, therefore, be said to be more fundamental than the other. As Hakuin himself puts it, "meditative-work is the true practice of fighting, inner contemplation is the ultimate essence of cultivation—they are like the two wings of a bird and the two wheels of a cart."[80] Again, it

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[77] Yoshizawa 1999b: 170.

[78] Yoshizawa 1999b: 170.

[79] 一日ナサザレバ一日食セズト; see Yoshizawa 1999b: 165 and Yoshizawa 2001a: 248. This maxim, "a day without work is a day without food" (*yiri buzuo yiri bushi* 一日不作一日不食), appears in the *Zutang ji* (ZTJ 4/55/12). It also appears in Baizhang's entry in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* (ZZ135.658a6) and the *Wudeng Huiyuan* (ZZ138.91a7) and in his recorded sayings (ZZ119.820b14).

[80] 工夫ハ且戰フノ真修、内観ハ且ツ耕スノ至要、鳥ノ雙翼ノ如ク、車ノ兩輪ノ如シ (Yoshizawa 2001a: 245); cf. Yampolsky 1971: 50. As Yoshizawa points out, Hakuin is here alluding to a military strategy from the Strategies of Qin 秦策 chapter in fascicle five of the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Strategies from the Warring States): "[The Marquis of Shang] taught the people to cultivate and

seems worth noting the resemblances between Hakuin's views on stagnation and those of Kaibara Ekken. Consider, for instance, the following account from Ekken's *Yōjōkun*:

> The mind is the lord of the body. It must be calmed in quietude. The body is the servant of the mind. It must be made to move and labor. If the mind is calmed in quietude, the heavenly sovereign[81] [of the body] will be replenished, pleased, and without suffering. If the body is made to move and labor, drink and food will not stagnate and [since] blood and vital energy will thus circulate there will be no illness.[82]

Also consider the following passage:

> A person's body takes vital energy as the source of birth and the lord of life. Those who nourish life well, therefore, always concern themselves with the primordial energy and do not allow it to become depleted. Quietude preserves primordial energy; activity allows primordial energy to circulate. If preserving and circulating are not both put to use then it will be difficult to nourish vital energy. To not neglect the appropriate time for activity and quietude is the way to nourish vital energy.[83]

In short, what we have in the *Yōjōkun* is an attempt to balance the preservation of vital energy and the prevention of its accumulation. Key to understanding this delicate balance is the metaphor of activity and quietude. Hakuin and Ekken seem to be in agreement on this point. But their agreement ends here. Regarding the interpretation of quietude, they do not seem to meet eye to eye. Whereas Kaibara believed that one could nourish vital

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fight. Therefore, when the troops move the land becomes vast and when the troops rest the country becomes rich. There is therefore no match for Qin in the world" 教民耕戰，是以兵動而地廣，兵休而國富，故秦無敵於天下 (ZGC 81/36/24).

[81] Ekken later identifies the heavenly sovereign as the lord of the body, that is, the mind; Ishikawa 1982: 101.

[82] Ishikawa 1982: 30.

[83] Ishikawa 1982: 56

energy by governing the mind *with* quietude Hakuin seems to believed that quietude is actually governed *by* activity, that is, by princely fire and hence the mind.

By no means, however, was quietude a transparent and unproblematic concept for Ekken. In his *Daigiroku* 大疑録 (Record of Great Doubt) Ekken, for instance, questioned the tendency among Confucian scholars of the Song to take the art of guarding the mind (*shushin* 守心) as referring to the practice of governing with quietude (*shusei* 主靜) and quiet sitting (*seiza* 靜座).[84] But, to become partial towards quietude would make one no different from the Buddhist who sits in meditation to attain serene extinction (i.e., nirvana) and this, Ekken claims, is not appropriate for the Confucian scholar. In advancing this claim, Ekken is echoing the earlier opinion of Zhu Xi who similarly denounced the practice of quiet sitting at the expense of everyday affairs as a form of Chan meditation.[85] Ekken is also echoing the concerns of his contemporaries such as Satō Naokata 佐藤直方 (1650-1719), a student of the famous Confucian scholar Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1618-1682). Hoping to distinguish quiet sitting from "quietistic" Zen meditation, Naokata, for instance, claimed that Buddhists "simply quiet the mind and make it clear, but insofar as they destroy activity, they seek to become like withered trees and dead ashes."[86] Needless to say, neither Ekken nor Naokata, or Zhu Xi,[87] fully address the complexities of the idea of quietude in Buddhism.

As I have shown in the previous chapters, Buddhists themselves had been similarly concerned about the distinction between no mind (*wunian*) and what in the

[84] Araki and Inoue 1970: 13.

[85] For instance, see Zhu's letter to Zhang Xia 張洽 (1161-1237) in the *Zhuzi wenji* (Chen 2000: 3066-3068); cited in Taylor 1997: 52.

[86] Abe 1977: 291; trans. Sawada 1993: 101.

[87] It seems worth noting there that Zhu's memorial inscription for the monk Daojian 道謙 (d.u.), a disciple of Dahui, records that Zhu had indeed been very interested in Chan and that he had received the teachings of the malady of meditation from Daojian; see ZZ 148.967b7. Daojian is recorded in the *Zhuzi yulei* (126: 4863) as having instructed Zhu Xi that a practitioner of Chan who suffers from an ailment in the spleen can cure himself of his ailment by sitting in meditation for six or seven days and reducing the intake of food. Daojian himself admits to have been ill once, which he cured by sitting for three or four days.

Zhuangzi is referred to as being like a withered tree and dead ashes. Chan exegetes often urged their students to return to life from the great death and expressed their concerns about no mind, quietude, and death. But people change the way they conceive of things. By the Song, Buddhists had become fond of expressing these concerns with the metaphor of activity and quietude. And no one seems to have played a more important role in this change than the Chan master Dahui Zonggao. It was Dahui who firmly established the view that the Way is to be sought through activity in the hustling and bustling world (*nao* 鬧) and not, as many presume, through meditative-work in the midst of quietude.[88] The tendency to reject the hustling and bustling world in favor of the pursuit of quietude on a bamboo chair or meditation cushion, he claimed, was nothing but an illness of Chan.

Why all the fuss about quietude? For Dahui, quietude represents an attachment to the view of the absence of views, that is, emptiness. Criticisms of the tendency to hold such a view are also found, as we have seen, in earlier Buddhist scriptures such as the *Kāśyapaparivarta* and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Both texts refer to this tendency as a malady and present us with the conundrum of a malady that can only be cured with the very same medicine (i.e., emptiness) that caused it in the first place. But not all is lost. Defying common sense, this conundrum proved to do more good than harm. Dahui, for instance, was able to use this conundrum as the very foundation on which to construct a new approach to the cases of old (*guce*). Lest one succumb to the malady of meditation, one must, he claimed, focus on the critical phrase (*huatou*) from each case and refrain from producing arbitrary understandings. By referring to quietude, silent illumination, great death, and rest—all traditional metaphors for the attainment of emptiness—as an understanding, he made it very clear that there was no place to which one could expect to

[88] Dahui makes this argument quite explicitly in one of his letters to Vice Minister Zeng; see T47.1998A.918c7-919a2. As Yampolsky notes in his translation of the *Oradegama*, Hakuin seems to be alluding to Dahui claim that the investigation of Chan in the hustling and bustling world is a hundred, thousand, a hundred thousand times [superior] to meditative-work in the midst of quietude (T47.1998A.918c23-24) when he attributes the following aphorism to Dahui: "meditative-work in the midst of quietude is a hundred, thousand, a hundred thousand times [superior] to that in the midst of quietude 動中ノ工夫ハ静中ニ勝ル事百千億倍ス (Yoshizawa 2001a: 198); cf. Yampolsky 1971: 33.

temporarily or eventually withdraw during one's struggles with the critical phrase. Dahui had thus severed the link between soteriology and *sōtērion* once and for all.

With his *kanhua chan* technique Dahui won the affection and admiration of many followers (including Hakuin), but there were, to be sure, some who failed to appreciate the novelty, subtlety, and creativity of his efforts. Zhu Xi is a good case in point:

> Chan is just a technique of dim-witted fortification (*baoshoufa* 呆守法) as in "the pounds of hemp" and "dry shit stick." Its truth does not originally lie here [in these words] but in teaching others to just numb their minds, make calculations on this one path, and expect a sudden vision after devoting a long time [to this practice]. This is awakening. The important point is to concentrate on the one mind and prevent it from becoming agitated. After a while a radiant illumination is emitted spontaneously. Having thus attained awakening, even the illiterate are able to compose verses. Although the views of those who have attained awakening [are said to be] the same, some are deep and others are shallow. I have long been fond of investigating Chan, [but] their theories are simply like this. Among them there are some who have a knack for preaching, but their exaggerations are great. For instance, the disciples of Gao Fori 杲佛日 [i.e., Dahui] are by nature bold souls, so they are able to command this world.[89]

Zhu did not limit his critique of Buddhists to their use of dim-witted fortification. In fact, the greatest reservations that Zhu had of Buddhism was directed towards the notion of emptiness, which he also identifies as another instance of dead ashes and withered trees.[90] Because Buddhists insist on emptiness and take function (*zuoyong* 作用), rather than principle (*li* 理), as nature (*xing* 性) Zhu claims that it impossible for Buddhists to distinguish between, say, the filial from the un-filial.[91] There is, however, more at stake

[89] *Zhuzi yulei* 126: 4854.

[90] *Zhuzi yulei* 126, 4818.

[91] For instance, see *Zhuzi yulei* 126: 4840-4843 *passim*.

here than the capacity of Buddhist thought to allow for an ethical engagement of the world or the lack thereof. Zhu's criticism of Buddhism seems to be hiding deeper anxieties about the possibility of confusing his own learning of the Way (Daoxue 道學) with other intellectual and religious trends as we can clearly see in the following remark about Zhou Dunyi's notion of "governing with quietude" (*zhujing* 主靜): "quietude (*jing* 靜) can also be glossed as seriousness (*jing* 敬) and therefore [I] also say, 'to have no desires is [to be in] quietude"; if interpreted as empty quietude (*xujing* 虛靜), I fear that [governing with quietude] may then be taken as [the teaching] of Śākyamuni or Laozi."[92]

Zhu's fears were well founded. During the Edo period, as the study of his writings flourished in Japan, the ambivalent status of quietude provoked an acute sense of anxiety and, it seems, even exhaustion. This, for instance, seems to have been true for the Confucian scholar Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705). In spite of the constant urging of his family to pursue a career in medicine (which was apparently far more profitable than living the life of a Confucian scholar),[93] Jinsai immersed himself in the study of Zhu Xi's work (which, as is well known, he abandoned or disavowed in favor of studying the classics directly). While practicing quiet sitting he is said to have had a significant breakthrough in his studies,[94] but Jinsai subsequently suffered from what his biography calls "exhaustion" (*ruishitsu* 羸疾) in 1655.[95] The ailing Jinsai then secluded himself indoors and poured over Buddhist and Daoist texts from which he seems to have learned of the Buddhist practice of white bone contemplation.[96] He gave the contemplation a try and was apparently able to eventually master the technique. What Jinsai experienced, however, disturbed him.

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[92] *Zhuzi yulei* 94: 3787.

[93] See Yamashita 1983: 457. A large number of Jinsai's family took up medicine as a profession.

[94] Yamashita 1983: 458-459. Samuel Yamashita provides a translation of Jinsai's own recollection of his breakthrough experience.

[95] Yamashita 1983: 459-460. Jinsai's biography, *Senpukun kogaku sensei gyōjō* 先府君古學先生行状, was written by his son Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670-1736).

[96] Yamashita 1983: 460-461.

"Filial piety and loyalty seemed shallow and barely worth discussing," was his words.[97] Jinsai eventually came to the following realization about quiet sitting: "it is because of practices such as this that Buddhists sever all ties with society and withdraw from daily affairs."[98] These experiences seem to have had a profound impact on Jinsai. In his later work, *Dōjimon* 童子問 (A Child's Inquiries) published in 1694, Jinsai, for instance, maintains that "all living things must necessarily be active and only after death do they see true quietude."[99] The Buddhists and Daoists, however, tend to liken the pure mind devoid of desire to still water (*shisui* 止水) and hence, in Jinsai's opinion, to emptiness, death, stagnation, and quietude.[100] Commenting on Jinsai's work, Ekken thus writes: "Jinsai detests the Buddhists' partiality for quietude; I likewise detest Jinsai's partiality for activity."[101]

This strong opinion about Jinsai, notwithstanding, Ekken's attitude towards quietude remains rather ambivalent, and we can witness this ambivalence at work in his *Yōjōkun*. To nourish life, according to Ekken, is to bring the inner desires under control and prevent one's primordial energy from becoming weak,[102] and the weakening of primordial energy takes place in two closely related yet diametrically opposed ways. If the consumption of food, sex, and physical labor go beyond measure, then primordial energy will be depleted; and, if the consumption of food, entertainment, and sleep are excessive, then primordial energy will become stagnant.[103] The former can be treated by calming

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[97] Trans. Yamashita 1983: 461. Jinsai's reflections on his practice of bone meditation is recorded in his *Bōshū taishū Mizunokō wo okuru jo* 送防州太守水野公序; cited in Ishida Ichirō, *Itō Jinsai* 伊藤仁斎 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan; 1960): 37-38.

[98] Trans. Yamashita 1983: 461.

[99] 凡生者不得不動、惟死者而後見其真靜 (Ienaga et al. 1971: 237).

[100] Ienaga et al. 1971: 256-257.

[101] Araki and Inoue 1970: 487.

[102] Ishikawa 1981: 26.

[103] Ishikawa 1981: 30.

the mind in quietude and the latter by putting the body to work and making the primordial energy circulate throughout the body. But the mind governs *all* activity, circulation, and labor. As Ekken himself puts it, "those who have the will to nourish life should always have the mind [serve] as the lord. If there is a lord, then one will be able to discern [properly] and not give rise to anger or desire in making decisions of right and wrong. No mistakes will be made."[104]

In short, the mind must carry out the seemingly impossible task of being both quiet and active for primordial energy to remain strong. Hakuin presents a similar conundrum as the ideal model of the mind. To have the mind-as-lord (*shushin* 主心), he claims, is to have a huge rock in the space below the navel.[105] If the mind-as-lord is firmly set no deluded thoughts will be able to enter and exhaustion will not be felt while carrying out the ten thousand good deeds.[106] It is unclear where Hakuin got this idea of the mind-as-master. No other Buddhist thinker, to my knowledge, uses this term in this manner. Considering its resemblance to the notion of a self, the lack of reference to a mind-as-master should hardly come as a surprise. The term was, nevertheless, an important one for Hakuin. But, it seems worth asking why?

Hakuin, we may recall, had drawn two radically different pictures of the malady of meditation. Like Dahui, he attributed the malady to one's foolish indulgence in quietude or silent illumination. But he also repeatedly referred to the malady as the product of one's meditative-work "going beyond measure" (*do ni sugi* 度に過ぎ) and "losing regulation" (*setsu wo shitsu* 節を失). If one's meditative-work goes awry in such a manner one can expect, as we have seen, accumulation, depletion, and exhaustion. What I would like to suggest here is that the malady of meditation may have as much to do with anxieties about labor as with anxieties about the reification of emptiness or quietude. Labor (*rō*), it seems, was constantly under the threat of going beyond measure and turning

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[104] Ishikawa 1981: 40.

[105] Yoshizawa 2001a: 232; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 45.

[106] Yoshizawa 2001a: 232; cf. Yampolsky 1971: 45-46.

into exhaustion (*rō*). As the demand for productive, skill-intensive labor increased—and it did indeed during the Edo—anxieties about exhaustion also increased. This trend continued well into the nineteenth century. The thin line that separates labor from exhaustion is underscored, for instance, in the following advice on nourishing life from the Confucian scholar Satō Issai 佐藤一斎 (1772-1859): "Do not allow the mind to become exhausted (*rō*). To not be exhausted is to nourish life. Make the body labor (*rō*). To labor is to nourish life."[107] Issai also seems to be well aware that regulation (*setsu* 節) is what separates labor from exhaustion when he claims: "the meditative-work of nourishing life lies in but a single word: regulation (*setsu*)."[108]

According to both Ekken and Hakuin, what prevented labor from turning into exhaustion and what governed regulation was the lord of the body. For both figures, the mind was this lord, but in order for the mind to function in this capacity it had to be governed with quietude or made to descend to the area below the navel. As Ekken explains:

> Three inches below the navel is called the cinnabar field. The vital energy moving between the kidneys is located here. According to the *Nanjing*, "the vital energy that moves between the kidneys below the navel is the life of a person. It is the foundation of the twelve channels." This is where a person's root of life is located. The art of nourishing life is to always straighten the waist and store and accumulate true vital energy in the cinnabar field. It is to breath quietly and not throw the breath into disarray. When carrying out a task one must lightly blow out vital energy from the chest several times and have it accumulate in the cinnabar field and not in the chest. If you do so, vital energy will not rise, the chest will not be disturbed, and strength will be nourished in

[107] 不労心思、不労是養生、労体軀、労又養生 (Kawakami 1980: 300). These words appear in Satō's *Genshi banroku* 言志晩録 (A Statement of My Aspirations: Late Record), which was published in 1839. The *Genshi banroku* can also be found in Sagara, Misoguchi, and Fukunaga 1980: 107-165, 254-173.

[108] 養生工夫在節一字 (Kawakami 1980: 302).

> the body. When addressing a noble person or when you are busy tending to a great task you should do the same. Even if you unavoidably end up having an argument with someone, you will neither be harmed by anger nor will you make a mistake from the lightness of vital energy. Also, those who work with fine art or warriors who use spears and great swords in battling the enemy should all take this method seriously. This is an art that can be of great benefit in nourishing vital energy to those facing a task. As a rule, those who cultivate a special skill, especially warriors, should be aware of this technique. The Daoists' [art of] nourishing of vital energy and the bhikṣus' seated meditation are all techniques for storing true vital energy below the navel. This is the meditative-work of governing with quietude (*shusei no kufū* 主静の工夫) and the secret formula of the skilled.[109]

Meditative-work in the midst of quietude is precisely what Hakuin had pursued when he was young. As Ekken suggests, the ability to conduct affairs in the hustling and bustling world without the loss of vital energy is probably what Hakuin also expected to attain as a product of carrying out this form of meditative-work. But his expectations, as we have seen, did not come to fruition. In fact, his practice of dead sitting only made matters worse. So, he found a solution elsewhere. Labor, as he told the two abbesses, was an effective remedy for this attachment to quietude, that is, for this malady of meditation. But, students who become attached to quietude, it seems, were equally prone to go beyond measure in their meditative labor. Hakuin himself was no exception. For *this* malady Hakuin recommends bringing the mind down into the tranquil waters of the cinnabar field. But this too seems to have been anything but a permanent solution since, as Hakuin himself feared: if we fix the mind to one place would there not be stagnation of vital energy and blood? There is but one other possible solution. One could, as Hakuin suggests, practice inner contemplation and meditative-work in the midst of activity *together* like the two wings of a bird—only, however, under one condition. Vital energy

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[109] Ishikawa 1982: 56-57.

can be nourished by practicing inner contemplation and bringing the mind down into the tranquil waters of the cinnabar field, but only if we are aware of the fact that this tranquility and quietude is governed by activity, that is, the princely fire of the mind. The mind, in other words, never ceases to labor (*rō*). Hence, I believe, Hakuin's exhortation in his *Oradegama* to place the critical phrase in the cinnabar field.

Conclusion

Let us conclude our discussion of the malady of meditation with some final thoughts on the problem of governance (C. *zhu*, J. *shu* 主). While we moderners may be accustomed to the idea of a mind that governs the entire body as its lord, this particular model of governance, as Kuriyama points out, is not readily applicable to the classical Chinese body that appears, for instance, in the *Huangdi neijing*. As Kuriyama explains:

> No comparable hegemon governed the Chinese body. To be sure, when the *Neijing* drew parallels between the body and the body politic, it did speak of the heart as the ruling lord (*junzhu zhi guan*), and it even endowed the heart with intelligence (*shenming*). But the heart hardly monopolized a person's mental resources. Decisiveness, for example, belonged to the gall bladder, the capacity for calculated planning resided in the liver, craftiness belonged to the kidneys, and the sense of taste to the spleen. Accounts of the heart in China offer little hint of the commanding dominance invested in the Greek *hegemonikon*. In the dynamics of the five phases, the heart conquered the lungs, but the heart in turn tended to the overpowered by the kidneys, the kidneys by the spleen, the spleen by the liver, and the liver by the lungs. Power circulated. No one *zang* lorded over all the others.[110]

But all this seems to have changed with the rise of *Daoxue* and the incorporation of its ideas of governance and mind (and heart) into medicine by Danxi. While not quite the hegemon, the mind had become the indisputable lord of the body. In keeping with this

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[110] Kuriyama 1999: 161.

view of governance, Danxi believed that illness was no longer simply the body's reaction to external pathogens like cold and wind, but the product of a wayward mind. Danxi's own contribution to this view of governance came in the form of a sophisticated theoretical frame for understanding this wayward nature of the mind. It was the tendency of the princely fire lodged in the mind to rise upwards, he claimed, that made the body so susceptible to illness. He thus gave birth to what we may call a morally culpable body. Or, as Charlotte Furth eloquently puts it: "In opposing the dynamic yang energy of Fire with the tranquil yin realm of Water, Zhu named the bodily basis for the naturalization of ethics, making him a theorist of the body's passions well suited to the somber morality of *Daoxue*."[111]

Such change in the conditions of thinking about illness had practical consequences. As Hakuin points out, the malady of meditation is not to be treated with medicine but with meditation, for "what is lowered by the earth," he explains, "must be raised by the earth."[112] Similarly, Ekken also claims that "as a rule, the use of medicine, acupuncture, and moxibustion is a second-rate strategy [that is to take place] only if no other options are available."[113] If, as he continues to explain, "one pays attention to food, drink, and sexual desires, wakes up and goes to sleep on time, and thus nourishes life then there will be no illness."[114] A first-rate strategy is to make the body labor and move (*rōdō* 労働) by taking a brisk walk in the morning and evening and abstaining from sitting or lying down too long. Concerns about the abuse of medicine can also be seen in the *Enju*

[111] Furth 1999: 146.

[112] 是彼の起倒は必ず地に依るの謂なり (Yashizawa 2000a: 109). As Yoshizawa notes, this seems to be an allusion to a *gāthā* uttered by Upagupta found in fascicle one of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*: "If the earth causes you to fall, the earth must [also] cause you to rise. To try to rise without ground [to stand on] is ultimately untenable 若因地倒、還因地起、離地求起、終無其理" (T51.2076.207b16-17); Yoshizawa 2000a: 109 n. 11 (cf. Waddell 1999: 156 n. 10). Shaw and Schiffer mistakenly translate this phrase as "For it depends wholly on you whether you will be cured or not" (Shaw and Schiffer 1956: 115).

[113] Ishikawa 1981: 30

[114] Ishikawa 1981: 30

satsuyō 延壽撮要 (Critical Excerpts on Longevity), a manual for nourishing life written by Dōsan's son and successor Manase Gensaku 曲直瀬玄朔 (1549-1631) in 1599: "Also, when [Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581-682)] says 'the myriad illnesses and accumulation rise from depletion,' [he means] with the depletion of the middle and the lower burners the mind and abdomen are full of worries. And yet, [people] use medicine for killing worms to undo accumulation and they end up diminishing vital energy [instead]."[115] The claim that even tapeworms are to be treated by calm meditation was also voiced by Zen master Takuan Sōhō 澤庵宗彭 (1573-1645). Fine cuisine and overdrinking, according to Takuan, causes overheating and when vital energy is thereby increased it enters what he calls the nests of worms and accumulations (*mushi to shaku no su* 虫と積の巣) in the body.[116] Only by reducing the use of vital energy and calming it down will one be able to have these havoc-wreaking worms and accumulations return to their nests.

In other words, the body—insofar as the mind-and-heart is an organ of the body—was largely in control of its own destiny. External substances and clinical tools only hindered its progress towards health, long life, and unbridled productivity. Destiny, however, proved to be almost impossible to control. The mind, if we are to trust Hakuin, had a tendency of doing either too much (activity) or too little (quietude). The fact that the mind was constantly under the pressure of *doing* something, be it meditative-work in activity or quietude, and of toiling endlessly in the body did not help either. Why was it under so much pressure? Because the mind had to fight or prevent stagnation caused by accumulation or depletion, at the root of which we find exhaustion. Were these ailments, as Kuriyama suggests, an instance of "anxiety-turned-flesh"? And was this anxiety provoked by a failure to live up to the expectations of industrious behavior and labor during the Edo? Perhaps. But I think Hakuin's example suggests an alternative reading.

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[115] KKIS 6: 415 or 483. The embedded quote is from the first fascicle of Sun Simiao's *Beiji qianjin yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand [Pieces of] Gold for Every Emergency) completed in 652; see Yu 1994, vol. 2: 202a.

[116] See Takuan's *Kottōroku* 骨董録 (Record of Curios); cited in Shirasugi 1997: 63-64. For the passage in question, see *Kottōroku* in *Takuan oshō zenshū* 沢庵和尚全集 5 (Tokyo: Takuan oshō zenshū kankōkai, 1929), 13-15.

Labor (*rō*), it seems, was often experienced as exhaustion (*rō*) because the implicit expectation with regards to labor was that it is never enough, never complete.

Epilogue

What *is* the malady of meditation? Is it a biochemical reaction? Or, a culture-bound syndrome, perhaps? If anything, I have attempted to demonstrate that the malady of meditation is an illness that has a history. Depending on the context, the malady could refer at once to a pathological defect in one's understanding of emptiness and an attachment to dead sitting or, as we saw in the case of Hakuin, to the stagnation of vital energy in the body. But how could this be? The polyvalence of the term *bing* 病 ("illness" or "malady") may be one reason why we find these seemingly incommensurate forms of what appears to be the same malady. In addition to its most common usage as "malady,"[1] *bing* could, for instance, also refer to a "defect" in poetic composition.[2] It could also mean "to slander" (*duan* 短), "to insult" (*ru* 辱), "to whither" (*ku* 枯), "to hurt or damage" (*sun* 損), "to blame" (*jiu* 咎), and "to lose" (*bai* 敗).[3] On certain occasions *bing* was even used to denote one's failure to act on what he or she has learned as in the case of the following reference in the *Zhuangzi*: "to learn and yet to be unable to act is referred to as *bing*."[4]

However we may wish to translate *bing*, we can be certain that anything labeled a *bing* will bear a negative connotation and will most likely refer to something that "deviates from the norm." But in the case of the malady of emptiness and the malady of meditation it seems to refer more specifically to a pathological excess. Here, the *Prasannapadā*'s parable of the shopkeeper comes to mind: "I have nothing to sell you." "Very well, then sell me this—your absence of goods for sale." We have also seen signs of this excess in the condemnation of ascetics who ostensibly indulge in the taste of meditation and in the growing complaints about the tendency among the uninitiated to rest content with the superficial imitation of ancient rhetorical strategies and practical techniques. Some had hoped to control this excess with the help of meditative-work and

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[1] The *Shuowen jiezi* defines *bing* as an "aggravated illness" 疾加也. But the same *Shuowen jiezi* perplexingly defines *ji* 疾 ("illness" or "ailment") as *bing*. See *Shuowen jiezi* 7, *xia* 下.

[2] For this use of the character *bing*, see Mair and Mei 1991.

[3] See Morohashi 22127.

[4] 學而不能行謂之病; cf. Watson 1968: 316.

labor, but this too, as we have seen, proved to be no more immune from pathological excess than the techniques that gave rise to the malady of emptiness and meditation.

For the Buddhist thinkers that we have encountered in this dissertation, however, this pathological excess or illness seems to have been both a curse *and* a blessing. What we see in their complaints about illness are, first and foremost, concerns about the seemingly inevitable fate that awaits all those who dare to point to the "moon" with their "fingers." How, they feared, could one be certain that the finger is not being mistaken for the moon? How, in fact, could one be certain that the moon is not just another finger?

Some, as we have seen, thought that they had an answer to this perennial problem. Drawing hasty conclusions about the moon, they claimed, would result in an illness and this illness was a sure sign that the moon remained in tact but simply out of reach. Having undergone this illness experience, one can "go beyond" (*xiangshang*) the illness and once again aim for the moon—only if, that is, one is willing to confront, accept, and embody the pathological excess that sustains the division between the finger and the moon. For some Buddhists, illness could, in other words, serve as a constructive and productive experience.[5]

If I have thus drawn what appears to be a rather murky picture of the malady of meditation, which presents it as both meaningful *and* problematic, then I will consider my mission accomplished. For, unlike us moderners who tend to simply dismiss illness as either a physical condition to get rid of or a metaphor (as Susan Sontag emphatically puts it) that blinds us from the biological truth, the Buddhist traditions themselves often display an *ambivalent* attitude towards the malady of meditation wherein admiration and disgust coexist, sometimes in tension, sometimes in harmony. If in fact there is someone to blame, we should perhaps blame this confounding attitude on those legendary Buddhist saints who got sick over nothing (*mu* 無).

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[5] According to the preface of Boshan's *Chanbing jingyu*, "Those who seek a good remedy for the maladies of the dharma body take the maladies themselves as subtle remedies" 善救法身病者、以病為妙劑 (ZZ 112.946b13-14).

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Date	Events
1686	Hakuin (née Nagasawa Iwajirō 長沢岩次郎) born on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Jōkyō 貞享 (January 19, 1686) at Ukishima-ga-Hara 浮島原, Suntō-gun 駿東郡, Suruga province
1695	Hakuin attends Nichigon shōnin's 日嚴上人 lecture on the *Mohe zhiguan* at Shōgenkyōji 昌源經寺 (alt. 昌源教寺). According to the *Itsumadegusa*, Nichigon lectures on the letters of Nichiren
1698	Hakuin studies Chinese classics and the *Kuzōshi* 句雙紙 under the guidance of chief seat Kin 均首座, or Tōhō Sokin 東芳祖均 (d. 1729), at Tokugenji 徳源寺
1699	Hakuin visits Tanrei Soden 単嶺祖伝 (d. 1701), third generation abbot of Shōinji 松蔭寺 in Hara, with his parents on the twenty-fifth day of the second month. He receives tonsure (*tokudo* 得度) and the tonsure name Ekaku 慧鶴 from Tanrei. Not long after receiving tonsure, Hakuin is sent to Daishōji 大聖寺 in Numazu 沼津 (Suruga province) and made the attendant of the abbot, Sokudō Fueki 息道普益 (d. 1712)
1701	Before he dies Tanrei entrusts the dharma to Tōrin Sōshō 透鱗祖承 (an older disciple of Sokudō Fueki), who then becomes the fourth generation abbot of Shōinji
1703	In the spring Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to Zensōji 禅叢寺 in Shimizu 清水 (Suruga province) and attends a lecture on the *Jianghu fengyue ji* 江湖風月集 by the abbot (*dōchō* 堂頭) Sen'ei Soen 千英祚圓 (1659-1726)
1704	In the spring Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to Zuiunji 瑞雲寺 in Hinoki 檜木, Mino province. There he becomes a student of Baō Sōchiku. Hakuin finds a copy of the *Changuan cejin*. Hakuin's mother Myōjun 妙遵 dies.
1705	In the spring Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to the nearby Hofukuji 保福寺 in Horado 洞戸 (present day Gifu) and joins the summer retreat led by Nanzen Keryū 南禅化龍 (1662-1710). There he meets Daien Ryōkō (1625-1706) of Masaki 正木 (present day Gifu), a dharma heir of Bankei's dharma heir Setsugai Sotei 節外祖貞. He also meets Emon Sokai 慧門祖海 of Tarumaru 太郎丸 (present day Gifu), a student of Bankei. After the summer retreat, Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to the nearby temple Reishōin 霊松院 to study with its fifth generation abbot Bankyū Eichō 萬休慧長 (d. 1719). Hakuin took part in the winter *rōhatsu* 臘八 training at the nearby temple Tōkōji 東光寺 in Ijira 伊自良 with its fourteenth generation abbot Daigyō Eryū 大巧慧龍 (1674-1706)
1706	In the spring Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to Jōkōji 常高寺 in Wakasa province and attends the lectures on the *Xutang lu* by Banri Shutetsu 萬里須鉄 (1650-1713), fourth generation abbot of Jōkōji and three hundred and twelfth generation abbot of Myōshinji. Accompanied by a fellow student of Sokudō, library prefect Shō 松藏司 (Kairyū Ishō 夬龍惟松; d. 1749), Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to Shōjūji 正宗寺 in Iyo province and attends a lecture on the *Fozu sanjing* 佛祖三經 (Three Scriptures of the Buddhas and Patriarchs) by the fifth generation abbot Itsuzen Gijun 逸禅宜俊 (d. 1730). At Shōjūji Hakuin copies an annotated edition (*kōbon* 講本) of the *Fozu sanjing*. Hakuin witnesses the

	calligraphy of Daigu Sōchiku for the first time
1707	In the spring Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to Shōjuji 正壽寺 or Tenshōji 天祥寺 in Fukuyama 福山 (Bingo province), the bodaiji of the Matsudaira clan then led by Matsudaira Tadamasa 松平忠雅 (1683-1746). There he attended lectures on the *Wujia zhengzong can* 五家正宗讃 (Praise of the True Tenet of the Five Houses). On his way back to Suruga, Hakuin begins to investigate Zhaozhou's "no." Having learned of Baō's illness, Hakuin heads for Zuiunji in Mino. While caring for Baō (for three months), Hakuin is said to have cultivated meditative-work in the midst of activity (*dōchū kufū* 動中の工夫) during the day and meditative absorption in a quiet place (*jōsho zenjō* 静處禅定). In the tenth month Baō recovers, so Hakuin returns to Shōinji. Mt. Fuji erupts in the winter. Accompanied by chief seat Kin, Shogon Genryū 紹嚴玄隆 (d. 1765), and Senyū Chiei 川邑智英 (1688-1763), chief seat Chō 長首座 (d.u.), a disciple of Egoku Dōmyō, hangs his staff at Tokugenji. Hakuin pays him visit, but comes away without a favorable impression
1708	Hakuin accompanies chief seat Chō and his two companions to Eiganji 英巖寺 in Takada 高田. [Eiganji is the bodaiji of Toda Tadazane 戸田忠真 (1651-1729), daimyō of the Takada domain in Echigo.] There they attended the lectures on the *Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目 (Eyes of Men and Heavenly Beings) by Shōtetsu 性徹 (alt. 生鉄) (d. 1728). [According to the *Itsumadegusa*, Hakuin desires to visit chief seat Chō, not Shōtetsu, at Eiganji. With the support of Toda Tadamasa 戸田忠昌 (1632-1699), Shōtetsu inherited the dharma from former Eiganji abbot Daien Shūshin 大圓周信 (d.u.) and became abbot of Eiganji in 1688. He also served as the two hundredth and eighty-third generation abbot of Myōshinji. With further support from the Toda clan, Shōtetsu became the founder (*kaisan* 開山) of Kōgeji 香華寺 and Hōsenji 法泉寺 in Suntō-gun, Suruga province.] While cultivating meditation in the ancestral shrine of the Toda clan behind Eiganji (which lasted from the seventh to the seventeenth of the second month), Hakuin is said to have had his first awakening after hearing the echo of a bell ringing in a distant temple. Hakuin consults Shōtetsu, his disciple Buttō Soshū 佛燈素周 (d. 1726), and chief seat Chō about his awakening experience, but comes away on each occasion with disappointment. Hakuin meets chief seat Kaku or Dōjū Sōkaku 道樹宗格 (1679-1730), who introduces himself as a student of Shōju Etan, himself a spiritual grandson of Gudō and direct tonsure disciple of the abbot of Shidōan. [In an interlineal note appended to this year's entry in the *Hakuin nenpu* we are told that Etan or Dōkyō was given the posthumous title Tekiō 的翁. In the second month of 1819, he was also offered the rank of Hanazono *daiichizo* 花園大一座 (first rank at Myōshinji) and the title Dōkyō Etan Zenji.] Hakuin decides to accompany Sōkaku to Shōjuan in Iiyama. Shōju tests Hakuin with the story of Nanquan's death. During an alm's round Hakuin attains another breakthrough when struck by an old lady with a broom. With this awakening Hakuin is said to have attained the tenet that is "difficult to penetrate" (*nantō*) and cites as examples Dahui's verse about the round lotus

	leaves, Sushan's longevity tower, and Nanquan's death. In the fifth month Hakuin desires to receive full precepts (*kusokukai* 倶足戒) at Ekōzenin in Matsumoto (present day Nagano). Shōju imparts to him the true formula (*shinketsu* 真訣) of the formless mind ground precepts (*musō shinchikai* 無相心地戒). Hakuin requests the true formula of Cadong's five ranks of apparent and real (*goi henshō* 五位偏正) and receives only part of it. Shōju asks Hakuin to take his place at Shōjuan, but Hakuin declines. Shōju refers to Hakuin as library prefect Kaku (Kaku zōsu 鶴藏司). Shōju instructs library prefect Ryū 隆藏司, otherwise known as Shōgan 紹巖, to accompany Hakuin
1709	In the spring Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to Nōmanji 能満寺 in Koyama 小山, Tōtōmi province and attends Dankai Edan's 団海慧団 (1672-1743) lectures on the *Diamond Sūtra*. In the summer Hakuin attended Chōmon Zen'a's 頂門禅亜 (1661-1714) lectures on the *Wujia zhengzong can* at Bodaijuin in Sunpu 駿府 (present day Shizuoka). [According to the *Itsumadegusa*, Chōmon inherited the dharma from Shidō Mun'an.] Sōkaku also came from Iiyama to attend. Hakuin asks Sōkaku to have Shōju reveal the secret formula of the five ranks to him. First signs of the malady of meditation appear. In the winter Hakuin goes to Hōunji 法雲寺 in Suruga and assists its fifth generation abbot Keirin Edan 荊林慧団 (d. 1740) instruct students
1710	In the spring Hakuin returns to Shōinji. Accompanied by Daigi Sotei 大義素提 (1685-1759), Shōgan, and Rokuin Etsū 六隠慧通 (1685-1756), Hakuin goes to Hōdaiji 法台寺 in Sunpu to attend Jōsui Tōju's 澄水東壽 (1653-1720) lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record*. Hakuin learns the rest of the five ranks formula from Sōkaku at the lectures. [Taikan Bunshu places the details of Hakuin's illness and his encounter with Hakuyū here, but Tōrei's manuscript records the same event under the thirty-first year (1715). According to Taikan's edition Hakuin learns of Hakuyū at Reishōin. Upon returning to Shōinji, Hakuin put Hakuyū's remedy to practice and rid himself of his illness.] Hakuin invites chief seat Setsu 節首座 from Ketsujōji 結成寺 to lecture on the *Linji lu* at Shōinji
1711	In the spring Hakuin makes a pilgrimage to Ryūkokuji 龍谷寺 in Tōtōmi province. In the second month Hakuin, Shōgan, and Rokuin go to Yōgenin 養源院 in Sakura (Shimōsa province), a bodaiji of the Inaba clan. The monks' quarters (*shūryō* 衆寮) was run by Daiga Eshō 提河慧祥 (d.u.). The chief seat was Tettsū Zentei 鉄通禅底/徹通祖底 (d. 1738) from Unganji 雲巖寺 in Nasu 那須. Hakuin left Yōgenin for Sōenji 宗圓寺, a bodaiji of the Hotta clan, to study under its eighth generation abbot Tetsuzui Genshō 鉄髄玄紹 (1640-1745). [According to the *Itsumadegusa*, Tetsuzui receives sanction from Shidō Mun'an.] In the winter Hakuin learns that Sokudō is ill and goes to Daishōji
1712	In the summer Hakuin returns to Shōinji and lectures on the *Shaoshi liumen* 少室六門 (Six Gates of Mt. Shaoshi). On the twenty-forth day of the eighth month, Hakuin hears of Sokudō's death [Tōrei's manuscript states that the death actually occurred on the fifteenth day of the seventh month but the above date was used according to the last wishes of Sokudō.]

1713	Hakuin learns that Jōzan Jakuji 定山寂而 (1676-1736) was appointed chief seat at Kenkokuji 建國寺 in southern Ise province and desires to visit him. At Kenkokuji he attended the lectures on the *Xutang lu* by Gikai 義海 (d.u.) and further lectures by Jakuji. Hakuin desires to visit Kogetsu Zenzai, who ostensibly had attained great insight on Dahui's verse about the round lotus leaves. While passing over the Suzuka range Hakuin has a realization about Dahui's verse. Upon gaining further information about Kogetsu, Hakuin changes his mind and heads for Wakasa province. He serves as an attendant during the summer retreat at Tetsudō Genchi's 鉄堂玄智 (1658-1730) temple in Wakasa, Enshōji 圓照寺. Hakuin studies under Egoku Dōmyō at his temple Hōunji 法雲寺 in Kawachi province. Hakuin goes to Inryōji 蔭涼寺 to learn about its late abbot Tesshin Dōin 鉄心道印 (1593-1680). Hakuin learns about Tesshin from Tesshin's old attendant named Jukaku Dōnin 壽鶴道人.
1714	Hakuin leaves Inryōji and spends the summer at Nanzen Keiryū's Hofukuji in Mino. There he studied the *Daitō goroku*. Hakuin once again joined Bankyū Eichō at Reishōin and partook in the *rōhatsu* training in the winter. Hakuin had another awakening experience while practicing *kinhin* 經行. Hakuin writes his *Nu no tsuzumi*
1715	Hakuin cultivates himself on Mt. Iwataki 巖滝山 in Mino
1716	Hakuin returns to Shōinji
1717	Hakuin is installed as abbot (*juen* 入院) of Shōinji by Seikenji 清見寺 priest Yōshun Shūdaku 陽春主諾 (1666-1735) and others of the same lineage. Hakuin presents an attendant with *Dahui's Letters*. Library prefect Ehatsu 慧發 (d.u.), a fellow disciple of Sokudō, comes to Shōinji and becomes Hakuin's attendant. In the winter Hakuin lectures on the *Chanlin baoxun*. Hakuin's father Sōi 宗彝 dies
1718	Hakuin has an even greater breakthrough in his investigation of Nanquan's death while attending a feast with Shōgan at Chōkōji 長興寺 in Hara. Tetsuzui Genshō comes to Shōinji to seek personal instruction from Hakuin. In the summer Hakuin lectures on the *Poxiang lun*. In the fall Hakuin lectures on the *Linji lu*. In the eleventh month Hakuin receives the customary title of Hanazono *daiichizo*. He takes the name Hakuin and inherits the dharma from Tōrin Soshō. [Hakuin thus becomes fifth generation abbot of Shōinji]
1719	For the first time Hakuin offers a lecture at the request of monks. The lecture is on the *Wujia zhengzong can*. Sōnin 宗仁 (d.u.) from Mino and Genshin 玄真 (d.u.) from Kai become Hakuin's attendants. A close friend Unzan Sotai 雲山祖泰 (1685-1747), third generation abbot of Kongōji 金剛寺 (in Makado 間門, Numazu), frequently comes to study with Hakuin. [Unzan had studied under Kogetsu]
1720	Hakuin attends a lecture on the *Blue Cliff Record* by Yōshun Shūdaku at Seikenji. Gedatsu 解脱 (d. 1747) of Muryōan 無量菴, who was present at the lecture, comes to Shōinji and becomes Hakuin's first formal student.
1721	Ekyū 慧休 of Rinsenan 林泉菴 in Suntō-gun performs the rite of becoming a disciple. [Rinsenan is the stūpa-site or *tassho* 塔所 of Suzuki Shōsan.] Twenty

	monks come and request to hang their staffs at Shōinji. Hakuin lectures on *Dahui's Letters* for them with the help of Tetsuzui. At the beginning of the tenth month Hakuin learns of Shōju's death
1722	In the summer Hakuin lectures on the *Yuanren lun* 原人論
1724	In the summer Hakuin lectures on Boshan's *Chanbing jingyu* to an audience of twenty monks
1726	Hakuin ostensibly has his greatest awakening experience while chanting the *Lotus Sūtra* suggested by Tōhō Sokin of Tokugenji
1728	The physician Ishii Gentoku 石井玄徳 (1671-1751) comes to receive instruction from Hakuin
1730	Hakuin lectures on his *Kanrin ihō* 寒林貽宝. Sōkaku dies
1731	Hakuin lectures on the *Shiburoku* 四部録 (i.e., *Xinxin ming*, *Zhengdao ge*, *Shiniu tu*, and *Zuochan yi*). Next, he lectures on the *Hanshan shi* to a crowd of twenty. During the spring and autumn months, Hakuin frequently stays at Ishii Gentoku's retirement residence
1732	Hakuin lectures on the *Linji lu* and the *Blue Cliff Record* at Shōinji. More than a score of monks come to reside at Shōinji
1733	Hakuin lectures the *Chanmen baoxun* to a crowd of over thirty. Gakuin reads the *Honchō jinjakō* by Hayashi Razan. [Hakuin wrote a criticism of Hayashi's work, *Doku jinjakō bengi* 読神社考弁疑, which is included in his *Keisō dokuzui jui*]
1734	Shōzan Reiyū 種山靈祐 (1700-1763) from Tōfukuji's Taikōan 退耕菴 comes to Shōinji with Ryōsai Genmyō 良哉元明 (1706-1786) of Mikawa. [Ryōsai was a student of Kogetsu.] For Shōzan, Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* to a crowd of twenty. Ryōsai and Ekyū are also in attendance and they penetrate the tenet
1735	For Shōzan Hakuin lectures on the *Xutang lu*. Shōzan returns to Tōfukuji. In the summer Hakuin lectures on the *Chanmen baoxun*. In the fall Hakuin sends verses to Senpō Zenju 仙彭禅壽 (d.u.) of Seibonji 清梵寺 in Hara and Kōgoku Genshū 江國元周 (d.u.) of Eishōji 永昌寺 near Numazu to congratulate them on being installed as abbots (*juen*)
1736	In the spring chief seat Kanjū Etsū 貫宗會通 (1699-1777) of Ryōtanji 龍潭寺 in Tōtōmi province comes to investigate Zen. Hakuin lectures on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* to a crowd of thirty. Eight monks were in residence at Shōinji. In the summer Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record*. Construction of the saṃgha hall at Shōinji is completed. To pray for his late father and brother the layman Uematsu Suetsuna 植松季統 (1701-1771) establishes Kannonzenji 觀音禅寺 near Hara by constructing a small saṃgha hall and kitchen. Hakuin carries out the *kuyō* ceremony for installing the central icon at Kannonzenji. He also leaves some dharma sermons (*hōgo* 法語) and a memorial inscription (in *Keisō dokuzui*, fascicle 7)
1737	Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Rinzaiji 臨濟寺 in Izu to a crowd of two hundred. This is the first time Hakuin responds to such a request from another temple. Ryōsai and Ekyū note discrepancies between this lecture and the

	previous ones
1738	Bunchū 文忠 of Inryōji 蔭涼寺 in Bizen comes to investigate Zen under Hakuin. Bunchū laments that had Hakuin been installed as abbot at a larger temple he would have attracted a larger following
1739	At the request of layman Kokan 古鑑 (Akiyama Michitomo 秋山術友 [1682-1750]), a wealthy farmer from Yasuhisa 安久 (present day Mishima) in northern Izu, Hakuin offers a lecture on *Dahui's Letters* at the layman's house. During the lectures, which lasted over a month, Kaigan Chitetsu 快巖智徹 (d.u.) of Chōkōji 長光寺 in Kai, Enkei Sojun 圓桂祖純 (1715-1767) of Tenrinji 天倫寺 in Izumo, and Daikyū Ebō 大休慧昉 (1715-1774) of Hōfukuji 寶福寺 in Bitchū serves as his attendants. More than thirty people were in attendance including Ekyū, Bunchū, and Tengai Gen'i 天崖玄夷 (d.u.) of Tōkōji 東光寺 in Kai. Monks at Shōinji prepare for a lecture on the *Xutang lu* for next spring. Bunchū, Sojun, and Ebō rehearses the ceremonies for the Xutang meeting
1740	In the spring Hakuin offers lectures on the *Xutang lu* to a crowd of over four hundred. Kanjū Etsū serves as chief seat, Taku 澤 (d.u.) of Anyōji 安養 in Izu serves as assistant prior (*fūsu* 副寺), and Ryōsai Genmyō serves as first rank (*itchii* 一位). Donsen Genyaku 曇仙原譯 (d.u.), Reigen Etō 靈源慧桃 (1721-1785), and Ishin Eryū 葦津慧隆 (1720-1769) are also present. At the beginning of the lectures, Hakuin offers some general sermons (*fusetsu* 普說) and these sermons are later published as the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* (1743). Hakuin establishes his reputation with these sermons
1741	Hakuin draws a great crowd of followers. Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Keirinji 桂林寺 in Kai. Reigaku 靈嶽 (d.u.) comes to investigate Zen. Hakuin confronts a monk from Kyūshū who espouses *fushōzen*. Hakuin prepares his *Kanzanshi sendai kimon*
1742	Bonji 梵治 (d.u.) enters the master's room, requests a dharma name (*anmyō* 安名), and performs the rites of becoming a disciple. In the fourth month Reigaku resumes his studies with Hakuin and receives a verse sanctioning his awakening. Hakuin offers a lecture on the *Chanmen baoxun* at Ryōtanji in Tōtōmi province.
1743	Tōrei Enji comes to investigate Zen under Hakuin and is appointed an unassigned attendant (*furimu jisha* 不釐無侍者). In the third month Hakuin lectures on *Dahui's Arsenal*. Gōun 劫運 (d. 1744) of Ekōzenin in Matsumoto, a former student of Sōtō monk Daibai Keiryū 大梅圭立 (1682-1757), comes to investigate Zen under Hakuin. Sōkei Chidatsu 曹溪智脱 (1704-1769), a former student of Kogetsu, comes to investigate Zen under Hakuin. In the ninth month Hakuin's general sermons for his lectures on the *Xutang lu* (1740), *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*, is published
1744	In the spring Hakuin sees the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* for the first time. In the winter Hakuin visits Jishōji 自性寺 in Kai province where donations were gathered to print the *Heart Sūtra*. Hakuin lectures on the *Chuanlao jingang jing* 川老金剛經 (Old Chuan's [Comments] on the Diamond Sūtra) at Rinsenan in Suntō-gun

1745	Hakuin is invited to Jitokuji in Kai to lecture on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* to a crowd of three hundred. Bunchū and Donsen Genyaku assist Hakuin. A samurai from Edo named Inoue Hyōma 井上平馬 (d.u.) brings the *Enmei jikku kannongyō* (in *Keisō dokuzui*, fascicle 2) to Hakuin
1746	Hakuin is asked to give a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* at Genryūji 源立寺 in Suruga. Before the lecture he offers an introductory general sermon (*ten'en fusetsu* 展莚普説; in *Keisō dokuzui*, fascicle 2). From the eastern outskirts of Kyōto Tōrei sends Hakuin letter to inherit the dharma (*shihōsho* 嗣法書). Hakuin replies with a verse and wishes to make the dharma inheritance letter public. Several senior disciples object. Hakuin defends Tōrei by stating that a letter is as trustworthy as words of the ancient ones. In the fall Hakuin's *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* is published. Hakuin sees it for the first time while visiting Hōrinji 寶林寺 in Kai. Hakuin paints the sixteen arhats and presents it to the abbot Sesshū Sōbai 雪州素梅 (d.u.). Eboku 慧牧 or Suiō Genro comes to investigate Zen under Hakuin. Hakuin gives a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* at Sekirinji 石林寺 and also stops over at Nōjōji 能成寺 in Kai before returning to Shōinji
1747	A vassal of the daimyo of Owari named Oda Heijirō Nobushige 織田平治郎信茂 comes to Hakuin and asks for a remedy for his malady of meditation. Hakuin writes a letter to a nun of the Hokke sect (later published as part of the *Oradegama*)
1748	In the spring a wealthy sake brewer by the name of Yamanashi Harushige 山梨治重(1707-1763) comes to study with Hakuin. With the monks at Shōinji Hakuin goes to Rinzaiji to attend the commemoration of two hundredth anniversary of Honkō Kokushi's 本光國師 (Daikyū Sōkyū 大休宗休; 1468-1549) death. The abbot Kanjū Sōtetsu 關宗宗鉄 (d. 1770) asks Hakuin to comment on the verses in the *Xutang lu*. Hakuin writes letter to Lord Nabeshima (later published as part of *Oradegama*)
1749	Monks at Shōinji ask Hakuin for a lecture on the *Daitōroku*. Ichidaku 一諾 (d.u.), Kun 薫, Senpō Zenju, Kōsai Egyō 江西慧顒 (d. 1776), Baisō Chūi 梅叟中頤 (d.u.), Tengai Gen'i, Ishin Eryū, Genshitsu Sōjitsu 玄室宗實 (d. 1782) acquire a printed edition of the *Daitōroku* and prepare for Hakuin's lecture. Hakuin writes verse and prose commentaries for the *Daitōroku*. Hakuin titles this work *Kaian kokugo*. Yūzan Zenotsu persuades Hakuin to publish the *Kaian kokugo*. The Ōbaku monk Kakujū Jōchō 格宗浄超 (1712-1791) comes to Shōinji to learn the five ranks from Hakuin. In the eleventh monk Tōrei returns to Shōinji. Hakuin writes a letter to a sick monk and publishes the *Oradegama*. Hakuin also writes *Neboke no mezama* 寝惚之目覺
1750	On the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month Tōrei is entrusted with a certificate and a gold brocade robe. A feast is held and Tōrei leaves for Unmonan 雲門菴 in Iwatsuki 岩付, Musashi province, with Gekkyū Muin 月休無隱 (d.u.) of Keirinji in Kai. In the spring Hakuin begins to lecture on the *Blue Cliff Record* at the nearby temple Daijōji 大乗寺 in Ihara, Suruga province. In the fall Hakuin visits Jōeiji 貞永寺 in Tōtōmi and sees a printed edition of his *Kaian kokugo* for the first

	time. Hakuin lectures on the *Xutang lu* at Ryōkokuji 龍谷寺 in Harima. Suiō Genro returns to Shōinji from his pilgrimage to Kumano. A wealthy Kyoto merchant by the name of Yotsugi Masayuki 世継政幸 (d.u.) comes to study with Hakuin. Hakuin writes *Hōkyōkutsu no ki*
1751	In the spring Hakuin is invited to Shōrinji 少林寺 in Okayama, Bizen province, to lecture on the *Chuanlao jingang jing*. He then goes to the nearby temple Hōfukuji 寶福寺 in Iyama 井山 and lectures on the *Shiburoku*. On his way back to Shōinji Hakuin stops by Yotsugi Masayuki's residence in Kyoto. There Ike Taiga 池大雅 (1723-1776) and a woman by the name of Ōhashi 大橋 (Takahashi 高橋 in Tōrei's manuscript) receives instructions. Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Yōgenin. This lecture is attended in secret by Jōshōmeiin no miya, abbess of Hōkyōji, and Jōmeishinin no miya 浄明心院宮 (Sonjō nyoō 尊乗女王; 1730-1789), abbess of Kōshōin. Also in attendance was the emperor's daughter Seijōkōin. [Hakuin's letters to the two abbesses are preserved in his *Oniazami*.] They were accompanied by Hamuro Yoritane 葉室頼家 and Reizei Muneie 冷泉宗家. In the winter Hakuin returns to Daijōji in Suruga and finishes the lecture on the *Blue Cliff Record*. There he completes a manuscript on the five ranks. [This could be the *Tōjō goi henshō kuketu* 洞上五位偏正口訣 in *Keisō dokuzui*, fascicle 3.] Hakuin suffers from an abscess, which is treated by a physician from Ejiri 江尻 (present day Kiyomizu) by the name of Ikeda Gisei 池田義清 (d.u.). Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Kōrinji 香林寺 in Yui 由比 (present day Shizuoka). Sōzan Sohō 草山祖芳 (1722-1806) of Zakkein, a subtemple of Myōshinji, comes to Shōinji and consults Hakuin. The *Oradegama zokushū*, an additional letter, and a postscript is added to the *Oradegama* and published
1752	Hakuin completes his lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Shōinji. On the eighth day of the fourth month the new Muryōji (formerly Muryōan in Hina) is completed and Hakuin is installed as founding patriarch. Hakuin lectures on the *Bukkōroku* 佛光録 (Recorded Sayings of Bukkō) at Kiitchiji 歸一寺 in Izu. Yotsugi Masayuki obtains seven relics of the Buddha and has them installed at Muryōji. Yotsugi asks Hakuin to lecture on the *Yijiao jing* 遺教經 (Scripture on the Bequeathed Teaching)
1753	In the second month Hakuin goes to Muryōji to see the relics. Hakuin is invited to lecture on the *Rentian yanmu* at Nōjōji in Kai to a crowd of over three hundred. Hakuin then goes to the nearby temple Tōkōji and lectures on his *Dokugo shingyō* 毒語心經. [Hakuin's capping phrases to the *Heart Sūtra*, *Shingyō jakugo* 心經著語, is included in the *Keisō dokuzui*]. Hakuin writes the *Yabukōji*, otherwise known as *Sekishu no onjō*
1755	Hakuin is invited to lecture on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* at the nearby temple Ryōshinji 龍津寺 in Oshimamura 小島村 (present day Kiyomizu), a bodaiji of the Matsudaira clan. The chief patron Matsudaira Shigenobu 松平昌信 (1712-1771) attends all the lectures. Hakuin returns to Shōinji in the fifth month.
1756	In the spring Hakuin lectures on the *Shoulengyan jing* at Shōinji. Before the

	lectures he offers a *jishu* 示衆 sermon (in *Keisō dokuzui*, fascicle 1). The 405th anniversary of Daiō's death is commemorated at Kōrinji 高林寺 in Sunpu. Hakuin is asked to deliver comments on the *Daiō kokushi goroku* 大應國師語録 (Recorded Sayings of National Master Daiō). Hakuin goes to Jiunji 慈雲寺 in Ejiri and lectures on the *Baojing sanmei ge* 法鏡三昧歌. He lectures on his *Shingyō jakugo* at Daijōji in Ihara. Hakuin returns to Shōinji in the sixth month. Tōgan Gigen 東巖宜元 (d.u.) from Ryūkyū sent a letter requesting certification (*inki*). Hakuin lectures on *Dahui's Arsenal* at Jishuin 持珠院 in Yasuhisa, Izu province. Hakuin suffers again from an abscess and is treated by the physician Gisei. A collection of Hakuin's writings compiled by Daishū Zenjo 提州禅恕 (1720-1778) falls into the hands of a wealthy Osaka merchant by the name of Kida Genshō 木田元照 (d.u.). Kida secretly takes the collection back to Osaka and has it published as *Keisō dokuzui*. [The *Keisō dokuzui* was actually printed two years later in 1758]
1757	Hakuin lectures on his *Kaian kokugo* at Nanshōin 南松院 in Kai and the *Lotus Sūtra* at Kōzenji 興禅寺 in Shinano. *Yasenkanna* is published by the Kyoto bookseller Ogawa Genbei 小川源兵衛. [Tōrei begins work on his biography of Hakuin]
1758	Hakuin is invited to give a lecture at Rurikōji 瑠璃光寺 in Mino. Hakuin decides to lecture on the *Blue Cliff Record* to commemorate a bit early the one hundredth anniversary of Gudō's death. The monks at Shōinji show little interest. Kanjū Etsū and Suiō Genro are put in charge of the lectures. Ryōsai Genmyō, Tekkan Dōshō 鉄肝道生 (1705-1788), Reigen Etō, Kūin Enko 空印圓虚 (1704-1787), and Tenzui Gentei 天瑞元提 (d.u.) come to the lectures. [Kūin was a student of Kogetsu and the three hundredth and seventy-second generation abbot of Myōshinji. Tenzui was four hundredth and fourteenth generation abbot of Myōshinji.] Hakuin shares lecture duties with Tōrei. Hakuin urges the elders in Gudō's lineage (*ha* 派) to publish the recorded sayings of Gudō to no avail. In response Hakuin writes the *Hōkan isho*. Hakuin lectures on the Baozang lun 寶藏論 (Treasure Store Treatise) at Ryōgenji 龍源寺 in Shiroko 白子. Hakuin's followers purchase the dilapidated temple Ryūtakuji 龍澤寺 near Mishima post station
1759	Kanjū Etsū, Reisen Dōon 澧川道温 (d.u.), Kanzui Sōjō 寰瑞祖精 (d. 1789), and Ōhito Yasuuemon 大仁安右衛門 (d.u.) broach the subject of installing Tōrei as founding abbot of Ryūtakuji. Hakuin is invited to Edo by the physician Handa Taian 半田泰菴 (d.u.). A supplement to the *Keisō dokuzui* is published by Shibata Gikyō 柴田義喬 (d.u.). Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Rinsenji 臨川寺 in Edo. Hakuin acquires Shidōan in Edo. *Yaemugura* is published. Hakuin writes the *Keisō dokuzui shūi* and *Kabezoshō* 壁訴訟
1760	Hakuin delivers a lecture on the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* at the Ryūtakuji *dōjō* 道場. The rite for installing the founder (*kaisan* 開山) is held with a hundred people in attendance. Funds are made available by the venerable Ryūzan 隆山 (d.u.) of Kongōōin 金剛王院 on Mt. Hakone. In the fourth month Tōrei returns from

	Kyoto and is installed as the new abbot of Ryūtakuji. Tōrei transfers the registry of Ryūtakuji to a new site with the help of Kamiyama Chōzaemon 神山長左衛門 (d.u.), Ōba Harushige 大場治重 (d.u.), and Kanzui Hōin 勸瑞法印 (d.u.) of Kongōōin
1761	In the first month the land transaction is completed and certified by Ryūzan of Kongōōin. In the ninth month Hakuin delivers a lecture at Ryūtakuji on Xuefeng's stūpa inscriptions (in *Xufeng zhenjue chanshi yulu* 雪峰真覺禪師語録, fascicle 2)
1762	Hakuin lectures on the *Xutang lu* at Seiryōji 清龍寺 in Hukuriya, Suruga province
1763	Hakuin lectures on the *Blue Cliff Record* at Shōkōji 照河寺 in Numazu. Hakuin lectures on the *Songyuan heshang yulu* 松源和尚語録 (Recorded Sayings of Venerable Songyuan) at Jiunji in Ejiri. Hakuin writes *Kanamugura* 假名葎
1764	Hakuin lectures on the *Daiō kokushi goroku.* On the fifteenth day of the fourth month Eboku, who receives the name Genro and styles himself Suiō, receives the rank of *daiichizo* and succeeds Hakuin at Shōinji. *Anjin hokoritataki* 安心ほこりたた記 is published
1765	Hakuin and Suiō have a falling out and Suiō leaves for Kannonin 観音院. Tōrei begins restoration work at Shidōan
1766	On the eleventh day of the second month Hakuin arrives at Shidōan. In the sixth month Hakuin makes a copy of an annotated edition of the *Blue Cliff Record* presented by Sekkō Sōshin to Tōyō Eichō. Hakuin lectures on this text at Chōjuji 長壽寺 in Edo. Hakuin returns to Shōinji in the winter. *Itsumadegua* is published
1767	Hakuin lectures on his *Keisō dokuzui* at Ryūtakuji and shares teaching duties with Tōrei, who lectures on the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*
1768	Hakuin becomes ill and is visited by his physician Sugiyama Yōsen 杉山養仙 (d. 1799). [Sugiyama received a letter of certification bearing a dragon staff from Hakuin] From his sickbed Hakuin summons Suiō and entrusts him with all affairs
1769	Hakuin dies on the eleventh day of the twelfth month of the fifth year of Meiwa (January 18, 1769 of the solar calendar). The Funeral is held on the fifteenth and cremation is performed the next day. Tōrei posthumously publishes Hakuin's *Kanrin ihō.* In the sixth month Hakuin receives the posthumous title Shinki dokumyō zenji 神機独妙禅師
1820	Taikan Bunshu publishes the *Ryūtaku kaiso Shinki Dokumyō zenji nenpu* at Ryūtakuji
1884	Hakuin receives posthumous title Shōshū kokushi 正宗國師

Appendix 2

A translation of the *Preface to Boshan's* Admonitions against the Maladies of Meditation (*Boshan Jingyu xu* 博山禅病警語序) by the lay disciple He Nan 和南 (d.u.)[1]

"To stay alert" (*jing* 警) means "to be awake" (*xingjue* 醒覺). Some say it means " to be alarmed" (*jing* 驚). This is likened to a thief looking down at a big house. If the owner lights the lamp at night, sits on the [matted floor] of the main hall, and coughs, causing noise, the thief will grow fearful. Afterwards, [when the owner] has fallen asleep, [the thief] will strike, entering [the house] and opening his bundle. Therefore, in a tightly guarded castle [watchmen] strike their clappers and ring copper pots with shafts. Even if an accident were to suddenly occur there would be no cause for alarm because they are well prepared and on guard.

People suffer the great sorrows of birth and death. This, however, is a long dream from which they have been unable to awaken for ten thousand *kalpas.* Moreover, the six [organs] are the thieves that forever rob the house of its treasures. Without the painful words of admonition from a great-awakened hero [these people] will remain intoxicated by their dreams for the rest of their lives, never to be enlightened. Not only are they incapable of acting as masters when asleep, they are even worse by day, talking nonsense as if asleep with their eyes wide open.

Therefore, the great master Boshan has come to by way of the power of his compassionate vow. He became the Great Medicine King and composed a *gāthā* to cure the irrational and impetuous maladies of karma. He has therefore compiled the *Admonitions against the Maladies of Meditation* in five chapters. It directly and succinctly apprehends the maladies in the marrow of those who meditate. The text speaks of and penetrates all [the maladies]. The words of meditative-work (*gongfu* 工夫) that it presents are of the utmost importance. It truly is an essential new text for the followers of Chan. It is also a world-saving, ninefold [cyclically-transformed] golden elixir (*jindan* 金丹).

[1] ZZ 112:946a-947a.

Chan is an illusory term with no essence. How could any illness [arise from it]? Many meditators frequently attach themselves to emotions and false understandings whereby they are lead to their deaths by mind, thought, and consciousness. They seek [enlightenment] not in the ultimate realm but in deliberations of what they have learned and understood. Their doubt is bound up in the words and phrases of the ancient ones, or else they seek answers in dead water (*sishui* 死水), wherein they drown and die. Others sit in idleness and remain trapped inside their shells. This allows them to neither kill the mind keen on using witty intellect nor transform the mind attached to delusion. Thus, the root of life is difficult to cut and continue to rise and fall as before.

All maladies that penetrate the body are maladies that I [have caused] and not maladies that exist in meditation. In extreme cases [the practitioner] will go mad (*kuang* 狂) and become possessed by demons. Even the Buddha cannot save him then. These are called maladies of karma and not maladies of meditation. If [the practitioner] were to [strain himself to] the point of death, attaining various states of mind, though still unwilling to make the meditative-work accord with the principle of the dharma body, then he will neither surpass nor even lift the bar of the gate [to enlightenment]. He will calmly (*jing'an* 輕安) sit inside a rice tub and do as he pleases (*zizai* 自在). This calmness is none other than a malady of meditation.

Therefore, the monk asked the old virtuous one, "What is the clear and pure body of the dharma?" The virtuous one replied, "The origin of the immeasurable great maladies."[2]

These words are like a prickly chestnut shell. It is impossible to swallow and difficult to spit out. In their earnest investigations and [subsequent] true awakenings the ancient ones suffered a series of illnesses. They applied neither needle nor awl to those with their hands hanging by their sides. Only when men held their breath and tried to understand pain and itching did [the ancient ones] consent to examine them. Therefore, only by knowing his illness can [the practitioner] eliminate his illness, and only after he

[2] I have been unable to track down the source of this quote, but an almost identical quote is found in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*; see ZZ135.724b16.

treats himself can he treat others. It is thus said that "one becomes a good doctor only after breaking his arm three times."

The Great Master Boshan himself investigated this Way and attained perfect penetration. All his words contain the essential point, and he refrains from the deliberate use of obscure and pedantic discourse, lest people not understand. He personally bore witness to and stood upon this realm. In seeing, explaining, practicing and using it his reasoning is keen and sharp and his skill with words is without obstructions. He is thus able to lucidly expound upon the maladies of meditation. This is like the Qin emperor who, using the illumination of a jade mirror, could see the innermost thoughts of all his courtiers, leaving not a single hair hidden from his view. Even among those meditators of the past and present who crouch crookedly on the platforms and call themselves good mentors, there are few who compare with the master's subtlety.

However, maladies of meditation are the most difficult to explain, and even when expounded upon they are not completely annihilated. Why is this so? These maladies are maladies of the dharma body. The dharma body has countless maladies—how could there be a limit? Those who seek a good remedy for the maladies of the dharma body take the maladies themselves as subtle remedies. They take it as tea and food [prepared] at home or as a [casual] sweaty shirt that they throw on their backs. They simply hide it very well.

When the ancient ones [said they] "made offerings to the Buddha for entertainment during sick-leave" they [meant that] the illness would naturally and quickly be cured once people realized that the dharma body has no subject. Thus, Dongshan said, "when I observed the old monk I did not see any maladies."[3] Maladies of meditation compete with each other to arise, especially as the products of deluded thoughts and stubborn attachments. A long time ago, the Buddha expounded upon the demonic matters of the five *skandhas* and all the calculations (*ji* 計) of the heretics in the *Śūraṃgama* [*Sūtra*].[4] These correspond to the maladies of meditation for present-day people [as well].

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[3] I was unable to identify the source of this citation.

Accordingly, attachments become demons and determinations constitute heresy. Non-attachment and non-determination are not maladies. Therefore, it is said: "The non-construction of the victorious mind is called the good realm. If you indeed construct sacred wisdom then you will encounter a multitude of heretical [views]."[5] The *Lotus Sutra* states: "They have a guide who knew well how to pass the dangerous and treacherous road and was therefore able to lead that group of people to the treasure."[6]

For this reason, the great master's text is truly a boat in the final age (*moshi* 末世) and a shortcut for the beginner. How could it only be beneficial for us in the present day? It will also be helpful in the future. Those who desperately desire to meditate and make progress in seeking the gate of Great Awakening should willingly and thoroughly peruse this text and devise a strategy. It will enable you to produce doubt such that it will not arise, and will allow you to point to the roots of maladies where they are not [normally] seen. This is like ploughing through sand to uncover a treasure. What is important is that the person himself uncovers it. This is like looking at the sky clear of mist. [This text] causes people not to become deluded. The obstructed path has a way out and [there are] live words (*huoju* 活句) in dead words (*siju* 死句).[7] This is like a round pearl rolling on top of a plate without ever standing still. The subtle functioning (*yong* 用) of a single word [in this text] is like this.

If all these people would use their minds [in this way] they could sit, fall asleep, and still see the Way. They would no longer need to waste money on numerous straw shoes. Instead, they could directly arrive at the fields of great bliss and breathe through

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[4] The five *skandhas* are the five sensory objects *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjña*, *saṃskāra*, and *vijñāna*. The.text mentioned here is the *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wan shoulengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬首楞嚴經, or *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 for short, (T 19.945. 105-154). The author is making reference to the eighth and ninth chapters of that text. For an English translation, see Lu 1964.

[5] I was unable to locate this reference.

[6] This is a reference to the parable of the phantom city in the *Lotus Sutra*. For an English translation of this parable, see Watson 1993:135.

[7] For live word and dead word, see Buswell 1987: 348.

their nostrils the same air that the Buddha-patriarchs breathed. Those who can admonish themselves in this manner can admonish the public. Again, those who can cure themselves in this manner can cure others. Thus they can be called living Medicine Kings.

This text will cause the mandate of the patriarchs to flow forever, the country to last forever, and wisdom to thrive forever. I hope the skillful means and the power of the vow that the Great Master demonstrated for us is never abandoned. I present this as a preface [to his text].

Dedicated in the Xinhai 辛亥 year of the Wanli 萬曆 reign (1611) by the [lay] disciple He Nan, Liu Songjing 劉崇慶 of Xinzhou 信州